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NATO, Warsaw Pact Asymmetries Assessed

PM2109140988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
20 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by V. Starodubov: "On Imbalances and Asymmetries. Once Again Concerning the Correlation of Warsaw Pact and NATO Armed Forces"]

[Text] The question of the consequences of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles remains one of the chief military-political topics constantly featuring in the pages of the press.

The world public has evaluated this document as an outstanding victory for the forces of reason and new political thinking, as an event which has opened up the prospect of further steps in the direction of disarmament and the creation of an atmosphere of trust and cooperation in Europe. But it also has its opponents. Coming out against the treaty for various reasons—primarily reasons of expediency—they have advanced as their basic argument the thesis of Warsaw Pact superiority over NATO in terms of the number of conventional forces and arms, which, it is said, will create in Europe a new situation disadvantageous to the West following the elimination of the corresponding Soviet and U.S. missiles.

The leaders of a number of NATO countries also make ready use of the thesis of Warsaw Pact superiority in conventional types of weapons. For example, in an interview granted by the U.S. President after the exchange of the instruments for ratification of the implementation of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, mention is made of "the huge discrepancy between the USSR and NATO as regards conventional arms, in which the Soviet Union has superiority." At the same time, the NATO-ites claim that the Warsaw Pact's superiority is created thanks to "tanks, artillery, and combat infantry vehicles."

It is not hard to guess the propaganda purpose of such allegations. However, this does not weaken their impact, particularly as the voice from the East gets through to the Western reader with difficulty and frequently does not get through at all.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has repeatedly expressed its viewpoint at very different levels on the correlation of military forces in Europe and in the world as a whole, citing the corresponding figures and describing the situation as being in equilibrium. Not that any competent Western figures argue with this assessment when the talk is not for propaganda purposes.

Although it is a difficult matter to assess the balance of military forces, it is not a secret under lock and key. Unobjective information about this would have been stopped long ago if the sides had sat around a table together and jointly developed mutual understanding with regard to the real overall balance of their armed forces. This is precisely what the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies call for. Their program for reducing armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals before (or with) the start of talks proposes an exchange of initial statistical data, the volume of which will be dictated by the agreed subject of the talks. The data would apply both to the armed forces and arms of the Warsaw Pact and NATO as a whole and to each allied country, as well as to individual regions of Europe. At the same time, it is proposed that the question of the existing imbalances and asymmetries be discussed. A careful check on the authenticity of the data submitted is provided for, including by means of on-site inspections.

The ascertainment of imbalances and asymmetries is just the first step toward their subsequent elimination, after which the subject of dispute will virtually disappear.

Let us remind you that the realization of the program for reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe is envisaged in three stages.

At the first stage it is proposed to eliminate all the imbalances and asymmetries in numbers of troops and basic kinds of arms brought to light as a result of the preliminary discussion.

At the second stage—proceeding from the levels reached—to reduce the troops of both alliances by a further 500,000 men on each side by disbanding formations and units with the simultaneous elimination of their authorized arms.

At the third stage—to continue reducing armed forces and arms in Europe so as to impart an exclusively defensive nature to the Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces.

At the same time, questions with regard to confidence-building measures and also, given the West's readiness for this, questions of reducing tactical nuclear weapons would be resolved.

These proposals create a real opportunity to resolve all questions connected with the existing imbalances and asymmetries in Warsaw Pact and NATO armed forces and arms. The fact that NATO refuses to give its consent to exchanging statistical data looks objectively like reluctance to part with the farfetched myth of the "threat from the East," which has long faithfully served the aims of fueling tension, escalating the arms race, and increasing military budgets.

No one denies that the Warsaw Pact countries have more tanks (approximately 20,000 more). Yet there are also serious imbalances in NATO's favor. In tactical strike aircraft, for example. Even according to U.S. data, NATO's superiority with regard to this kind of weapon stands at 1,150 aircraft (not counting the French and

Spanish air forces; see the Pentagon publication "Soviet Military Power," 1986). But according to Soviet assessments, this figure should be increased to 1,400 units.

NATO-ites say that tanks are the most offensive kind of weapon. That is their viewpoint. But if you look at the facts, the German fascist attack on the USSR on 22 June 1941, for example, began with massive strikes by fighter bomber aircraft. It was they that paved the way for the tanks. And there are other analogous examples.

So it is not a matter of the "offensiveness" of tanks but, apparently, that the numerical asymmetry with regard to this kind of weapon is in the Warsaw Pact's favor. If the Warsaw Pact had more strike aircraft than NATO, the assessments of the "offensiveness" of types of weapons by representatives of the Western bloc would probably be different.

The Western thesis that the Warsaw Pact countries surpass NATO in terms of the number of divisions evidently also sounds convincing to a nonspecialist. Varying degrees of superiority are named—ranging from 50 to 100 percent. However, nowhere is it stated that the personnel strength of these divisions is in NATO's favor roughly to the same degree. A U.S. division, for example, has approximately 16,000-19,000 men and a West German one even up to 24,000 men, while the Warsaw Pact armies' divisions have a maximum of 11,000-12,000 men. And if we speak not of divisions in general but of those which count as combat ready, NATO has 94 and the Warsaw Pact only 78. At the same time, the strengths of the NATO and Warsaw Pact armed forces as a whole are roughly identical. And no conjuring tricks can distort this fact.

Incidentally, if NATO representatives were to make an objective assessment of the correlation of individual types of arms chosen by them or of troop strengths, the selective approach employed by them would be unacceptable all the same. Is it really possible to determine the balance of the sides' forces without taking into account such an offensive kind of weapon as tactical strike aircraft and excluding an entire component of the armed forces—the navy with all its arms, including those earmarked for strikes against ground targets? Of course not. But the NATO-ites claim that it is possible, and they shudder nervously when the question of including naval forces in the sphere of talks on disarmament and security is raised at some forum.

What is going on here? The United States and NATO traditionally believe that they must rule the sea. "Superiority at sea is a necessity for us...." U.S. President R. Reagan declared at the ceremony commissioning the battleship "New Jersey" with cruise missiles on board in 1983. Similar statements have been made by other leaders of the NATO bloc, which includes almost all the main sea powers of the capitalist world. Their constantly increasing naval strike potential is aimed at controlling practically all the world's oceans and also—as regards European affairs—ensuring air and ground operations on the NATO bloc's flanks and in other regions along the coast of Eurasia, and conducting operations at their own initiative against "links of the war machine" and targets on the Warsaw Pact countries' territory.

The NATO bloc now surpasses the Warsaw Pact by a factor of 7.6 with regard to large surface ships of the ocean zone, by a factor of 3 with regard to the total tonnage of ships of military fleets, and by a factor of 2.4 with regard to naval aircraft. NATO surpasses the Warsaw Pact several times over with regard to numerical strength of naval personnel. Up to 50 warships and more than 2,500 carrier-borne and ground-based combat aircraft and helicopters can be deployed in the bloc's joint armed forces in the Atlantic alone.

The combat potential of surface ships and submarines of the U.S. fleets, including for operations against land targets, is constantly being enhanced. The United States is persistently implementing a plan to increase the number of carrier-borne formations (there are already 15 of them, including 5 nuclear ones); it is once again commissioning battleships, at the same time equipping them with Tomahawk cruise missiles (range depending on modifications—up to 2,500 km); it is also equipping a number of other types of ships with similar missiles. The United States already has approximately 30 submarines and up to 20 surface ships equipped with Tomahawk cruise missiles. In all, it is planned to equip 107 submarines and 91 surface ships with these missiles, and by the time the purchasing program is completed in 1993, the total number of cruise missiles will stand at approximately 4,000 units.

It is evidently because the United States and NATO as a whole surpass the USSR and the Warsaw Pact in terms of naval forces that the NATO-ites do not want to include them in the scope of the talks and are trying verbally to reduce the role of these forces just to the "protection of sea communications" and the "rapid transfer of forces by sea." However, they speak of this differently away from the talks. Here, for example, is what the U.S. defense secretary declared about this in the report on the military budget for fiscal year 1988-1989: Aircraft carriers "can make strikes against sea and land targets." Battleships "will be able to make missile strikes against onshore targets and provide artillery support in sea landing operations." Cruise missiles "enhance the fleet's combat potential when making strikes against... onshore targets."

At the Stockholm conference in 1986, the USSR and the other European socialist countries gave their consent to excluding questions of naval arms and naval activity from the subject of the next stage of the talks. However, that certainly does not signify consent to removing the question from subsequent stages of the talks or to disregarding the naval component when examining the balance of the sides' forces. It is perfectly obvious that it

must not be removed from the overall disarmament effort. On the contrary, considering the increasing significance of naval forces, they must be the subject of very serious examination.

The proposals advanced by M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok (1986), Murmansk (1987), and Belgrade (1988), have contributed in many ways to the process of realizing the danger of increasing the pace of the naval arms race and to encouraging the shaping of public opinion in favor of peace on the seas. E.A. Shevardnadze put forward detailed proposals on questions of security at sea at the UN General Assembly third special session on disarmament.

The Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact do not set themselves the goal of infringing on the security interests of the United States, any other NATO state, or anyone at sea. They want one thing—to turn the world's oceans from a zone of military danger into a zone of peace and cooperation, so that the threat from the sea does not remain out of sight in the process of reducing levels of military confrontation on land. It is impossible to disregard this threat in the balance of the sides' military forces even if certain talks do not directly provide for questions of limiting and reducing naval arms to be examined.

The thesis of the Warsaw Pact's alleged great superiority over NATO in conventional types of arms is used in the West not only for the purpose of substantiating military programs and increasing the NATO countries' military budgets. Speculating on this thesis, the NATO-ites have tried to reduce the future talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, whose mandate is being formulated at meetings in Vienna, to the elimination of asymmetries only with regard to those types of weapons in which the Warsaw Pact has the advantage.

FRG Defense Minister Scholz recently revealed the reason for this behavior of the NATO countries in Vienna. The theme of the report he delivered in Hamburg on 26 August was the assertion that the NATO bloc had virtually nothing to reduce in Europe with regard to either nuclear or conventional arms, since their present level is the minimum necessary to maintain defense capability. If you take into account the arms "modernization" plans being discussed in NATO, it becomes clear why one of the basic points in the mandate of the upcoming talks—on their subject, that is, on the composition of the arms that may be considered for reduction—has still not been elaborated in Vienna.

The formulation of the subject of the talks is now being worked on on the basis of a text submitted by the Soviet side. Despite numerous attempts by the NATO countries to resolve this question from positions unilaterally advantageous to themselves, progress is still being made on the matter. This makes it possible to hope that the sides will finally reach agreement on a mutually acceptable mandate for the future talks, which must leave no room for unobjective information on the Warsaw Pact's superiority over NATO in conventional arms.

Gorbachev's Krasnoyarsk Initiatives Considered

Asia-Pacific Expert's Briefing

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[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—TASS correspondents Gennadiy Talalayev and Georgiy Shmelev report:

The peace initiatives launched by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in Krasnoyarsk are the most specific expression of the Soviet Union's position on problems of strengthening peace and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, Vladimir Lukin, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Department for Pacific and South-East Asian Countries, said today.

Speaking at a briefing for Soviet and foreign journalists here, he noted that the seven points of the plan of Asia-Pacific security, which were called the Krasnoyarsk initiatives in the world press, are a logical development of the proposals which were formulated by the Soviet leader in his Vladivostok speech two years ago. They took into account the results of the additional analysis of and foreign responses to the Vladivostok proposals.

The good will from one side is not enough, however, for movement forward. Some of our foreign partners, willingly making critical remarks, do not display eagerness to discuss in a businesslike and constructive manner the Soviet initiatives, Lukin stressed.

Researcher economist Viktor Spandaryan, who took part in the briefing, dwelt in detail on easy terms for forming joint business enterprises and their operation in Siberia and in the Far East. He said, in part, that the question of setting up special economic zones in the area of ports Nakhodka and Vostochny is under study now.

The decision to convene an international meeting, "Asia-Pacific Region: Dialogue, Peace, Cooperation", in the closed city of Vladivostok on October 1-3 demonstrates the Soviet side's readiness to extend ties with countries in the region, including in the military respect, said Major-General Yuriy Markelov, a representative of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. He noted that the Soviet-U.S. treaty on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles provides for liquidating missiles in the Asian part of the USSR as well. As progress at the talks on a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive armaments is achieved, mankind's ultimate goal—the elimination of all nuclear systems—will be drawn closer.

It was announced at the briefing that more than 100 scientists, public figures, politicians, and businessmen from 35 countries in the region, and also of Western and Eastern Europe and Latin America will attend the forthcoming conference in Vladivostok, which was co-sponsored by the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the Soviet National Committee for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation.

'Positive' Process Continued

PM2109135788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

[A. Golts "Notes by an Observer": "The Path of Realism"]

[Text] What is the distance between Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk? Any 5th-grade pupil will tell you that it is just over 3,000 km. However, people who study foreign policy problems in various countries of the world would use other units of measurement. Today, after M.S. Gorbachev's Krasnoyarsk speech, they would probably say that these two Soviet cities are separated by a distance of 2 years. A distance which incorporates a very important stage in the development of the situation in Asia and the Pacific region.

The program for the restructuring of relations between the states of this region, which was put forward in Vladivostok in 1986, differs fundamentally from the former Pacific doctrines named after Ford, Nixon, and Fukuda. After all, their authors viewed this region as a playground, and the states located there merely as an instrument for the implementation of their policy, a policy aimed at gaining unilateral advantages. Our country, on the other hand, sought to find a resultant based on a balance of common interests. This resultant took account of a whole range of problems—settlement of regional conflicts, halting the buildup of nuclear weapons in the region, limiting the activity of navies in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, radical reduction of the armed forces and armaments of the states of the area, and ending foreign military presence.

It cannot go unnoticed today that a positive and promising process has been set in motion in the region over the past 2 years. The Geneva agreements on Afghanistan point the way toward the defusing of other regional conflicts. After the informal meeting in Jakarta there has been some progress in the problem of the settlement of the situation around Cambodia. A cease-fire has been achieved between Iran and Iraq. And despite the complex situation in the Korean peninsula, there, too, signs have emerged of progress toward dialogue between North and South.

Over the past 2 years the USSR's relations with many countries have improved appreciably. The growth of multifaceted ties with the PRC is particularly impressive. The recent working meeting in Beijing not only widened the sphere of mutual understanding on the specific problem, a Cambodian settlement, but has, simultaneously, served the cause of improving Sino-Soviet relations.

At the same time it has to be admitted that a radical breakthrough in the lowering of military confrontation in the region has still not been achieved (and this is particularly noticeable against the backdrop of the general thaw in the international climate).

Understanding of this reality and of the need to give a new impetus to the process in the Asia-Pacific region was precisely what determined the nature and essence of the Soviet initiatives formulated in Krasnoyarsk. Thus, aware of the concern of Asian and Pacific states, the Soviet Union decided not to increase the quantity of its nuclear weapons in the region, a decision which it has been observing for some time. It has called on the United States and other nuclear powers to also refrain from deploying additional nuclear weapons there. I would like to note that this decision has been adopted precisely at a time when work on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles has begun. In accordance with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, missiles in these categories deployed in the Asian part of the USSR will also be destroyed. If this appeal by the USSR is heeded, it will provide an opportunity to find a starting point from which it will be possible to proceed to the further reduction of nuclear arsenals in the Asia-Pacific region.

The USSR has proposed that consultations be held between the main naval powers of the region about refraining from a buildup of naval forces there. The implementation of this idea would provide a guarantee against an escalation of tension. Our country also deems it necessary to hold direct discussions of the question of lowering military confrontation in areas of close proximity between the coasts of the USSR, PRC, Japan, DPRK, and South Korea with a view to freezing and subsequently reducing the level of their naval and air forces and limiting their activity.

Just how pressing the solution of this question is is borne out by the military-political situation currently prevailing in that part of the Pacific Ocean. Major U.S. exercises are currently taking place there with the participation of aircraft carriers and the battleship "New Jersey," which is equipped with nuclear-tipped cruise missiles. At the same time, virtually all Japanese naval vessels are out on exercises. Who can guarantee that this is just the latest military rehearsal? Who can guarantee that in the course of such a "rehearsal" someone will not lose their nerve like the captain of the U.S. cruiser "Vincennes?"

In general a situation where the armed forces of any country operate a long way from their own territory cannot be regarded as normal. The Soviet Union consistently favors the elimination of any foreign military presence. This is why it was stated in Krasnoyarsk that the USSR would be ready, after consultation with the SRV Government, to give up its military facility in Cam Ranh Bay, on condition that the United States dismantle its military bases in the Philippines. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has written about the Clark Field and Subic Bay bases many times, stressing in particular that they are in no way comparable either in scale or purpose with the material and technical fleet supply base at Cam Ranh Bay. So some people might say that such a reciprocal solution would not be equitable. Let me recall, however, that a precedent for this already exists; namely, the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles where what matters is not that the USSR is eliminating considerably more missiles than the United States but that a whole class of nuclear death is being eliminated. This also applies in the present case. After all, it is a question of the complete elimination of foreign military facilities in Southeast Asia. It must be noted that this "zero option" has met with support in the Philippines. R. Manglapus, the country's foreign minister, has pointed out that "tension in Asia will be substantially reduced if the U.S. bases in the Philippines are dismantled and Soviet military facilities removed from Vietnam on a symmetrical basis."

The elaboration of measures to preclude an incident at sea and in the airspace above it could also be of great practical significance. The proposal to hold a conference on transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace demonstrates the USSR's desire to ensure security in this very uneasy part of the world as well.

And finally, the proposal to create a negotiation mechanism for the examination of any initiatives pertaining to the situation in Asia and the Pacific Ocean is by its very nature highly constructive. The discussion about the creation of such a mechanism could be opened among the USSR, the United States, and the PRC as permament members of the UN Security Council.

The Soviet proposal to create a center for international cooperation in the utilization of space for peaceful purposes on the basis of the Krasnoyarsk radar station is of tremendous importance not just for the countries of the region but for the whole of the planet. It is a question here of the very station which Washington is so fond of citing as a Soviet violation of the ABM Treaty. References to the fictitious violation are being used to hamper the progress of the Geneva talks on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms. However, now there is no more scope for speculation.

Judging by the reactions that have come in so far, the Krasnoyarsk initiatives have met with a positive response on the whole. The new Soviet proposals are aimed at "strengthening security in the region," China's RENMIN RIBAO, for instance, writes.

The first reaction of the official circles in Washington and Tokyo inspires less optimism. Thus, White House spokesman M. Fitzwater has hastened to declare that to him "this does not seem to be a sensible approach." Meanwhile, Japanese officials have again tried to link the development of bilateral relations with their territorial claims against the USSR.

This reaction, in my view, seems to reflect the same old desire to tackle international problems in the old way with recourse to strong-arm tactics. In the given case this can only be interpreted as a challenge to the situation which is taking shape in the Asia-Pacific region where

the gap between international cooperation and the rapid and uneven economic development threatens to turn into a source of regional and worldwide contradictions.

Let us hope that the people in Washington heed this sensible advice. However, time is not standing still. The USSR has proposed that the quest for security in Asia should begin without delay. It has also suggested a sensible basis for this. To sidestep such a quest is simply immoral.

UN General Assembly Session Opens 20 Sep

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[Text] New York September 21 TASS—The huge "banner of hope" made by children from 45 countries was unfurled by their peers in front of the U.N. headquarters where the 43rd regular session of the General Assembly of the largest and most prestigious international organization with a membership of 159 states opened, according to the tradition, on the third Tuesday of September. The opening ceremony, full of profound meaning, reflected the desire of mankind for peace and justice, as well as hopes that the United Nations can make a weighty contribution to the development and strengthening of positive changes in international life to revitalize and renovate it radically.

The 43rd session was opened by Peter Florin (GDR), president of the previous session, who noted that in the context of these positive trends, the U.N. should critically debate important problems. A whole string of events cannot but tell favourably on the session's deliberations. It will be greatly influenced by valuable results of the fourth summit between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan and the ratification of the Treaty on Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. This list should also include the results of the recent meeting of foreign ministers of non-aligned countries in Nicosia and the 3rd special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament.

Last but not the least, the recent breakthroughs in a peaceful settlement of regional conflicts strengthened the hope that the 43rd U.N. General Assembly will take decisions contributing to further improvement in the international situation. The new understanding of the U.N. role and restored faith in its ability to operate successfully make it incumbent on the world community to exert new efforts. The task is to mobilize and use more efficiently the potential of this international organization in maintaining the process of disarmament, consolidating international peace and security, settling regional conflicts and promoting cooperation between states in the economic, ecological, social and humanitarian spheres.

As a result of a voting by secret ballot, Dante Caputo, Argentine minister of foreign affairs and religion, was elected by a majority vote president of the 43rd session. He received 91 votes, 66 delegations favoured the candidacy of Ruth Nita Barrow, permanent representative of Barbados to the U.N., and one delegation abstained.

Dante Caputo said that the regular session started under conditions when the past few months witnessed the most important changes in international relations after the Second World War, that is since the time of the U.N.'s foundation. In this connection he singled out, above all, the relaxation of tension between the USSR and the USA and their agreements on disarmament, as well as the start of achieving solutions of numerous regional conflicts. Only a person of great optimism could imagine what is now a reality: a ceasefire between Iran and Iraq accompanied by well-grounded expectations of complete implementation of Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council, a possibility of settling many important aspects of the conflict in South Africa with a prospect for implementing eventually U.N. Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia's independence, the peace process in Afghanistan, grounds for settling the dispute about the Western Sahara, the dialogue on Cyprus and positive changes in settling the Kampuchea situation.

At the same time he called attention of the international community to many problems waiting for their solution. Touching on the Mid-East conflict, he said that a sharp deterioration in the situation on the occupied Arab territories only emphasized the serious nature of the situation which put into jeopardy international peace and security.

Dante Caputo pointed to the need for translating into life U.N. resolutions providing for a peaceful settlement of the conflict through negotiations. A concensus has developed on the need for calling an international peace conference on the Middle East in line with U.N. resolutions and with the participation of all interested parties.

In his opinion, the situation in Central America runs into a glaring contrast with the emerging trend for settling regional conflicts. In this connection the president of the session emphasized the need for stepping up peace efforts taken at the initiative of the Contadora Group, since peace in Central America, same as in other regions, can be achieved only through negotiations and diplomacy. He also pointed to the need for resolute measures to eradicate the disgraceful practice of apartheid, elimination of the growing gap between rich and poor nations, wiping out of poverty and settlement of the problem of huge debts of many developing countries.

The world has such a powerful instrument as the United Nations for tackling these and many other problems, he said. Mistrust, characteristic of the "cold war" times, is being replaced with sensible understanding of the need for multilateral efforts and collective responsibility as efficient means for ensuring peace, security and progress.

On the first day of the session's work, its delegates appointed members of the Credentials Committee and elected chairmen of the main committees.

More on Murakhovskiy, UN Ecology Chief Talks

PM2109150588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS "Official Report"]

[Text] On 15 September V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium Commission for Environmental Protection and Rational Utilization of Natural Resources, received M. Tolba, UN deputy secretary general and executive director of the UN Environment Program (UNEP).

M. Tolba expressed a high opinion of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev's initiatives and statements on safeguarding world ecological security and gave them his full backing. The governments of all states must make a concerted effort to turn wishes into reality.

There was a discussion of specific questions connected with further improving the effectiveness of international cooperation for the solution of long-term global and urgent regional problems.

M. Tolba was briefed on the work being done in our country to fundamentally restructure nature conservation.

During the conversation, there was an examination of questions of the development of cooperation between the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection and UNEP in the environmental protection sphere.

M. Tolba noted the Soviet Union's big contribution to the solution of important problems of environmental protection and rational utilization of natural resources.

The conversation was businesslike and constructive and took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding. F.T. Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Environmental Protection, participated in the meeting.

Sofia IPU Conference Stresses Decolonization

LD2109205688 Moscow TASS in English 1931 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Sofia September 21 TASS—TASS correspondent Aleksandr Stepanenko reports:

The 80th conference of the Interparliamentary Union is going on in the People's Palace of Culture of the Bulgarian capital. Today the delegates discussed the question of parliaments' contribution to the implementation of U.N. resolutions on the granting of independence to colonial countries, and on the elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid.

The duty of parliamentarians is to press for freedom and independence of peoples that languish under the yoke of colonialism and racist regimes and to urge their governments to support the national liberation movements, stated Marie M. Founda, representative of Cameroon. The only way to expedite the decolonisation process in the south of Africa, she emphasized, is to apply mandatory political and economic sanctions against the Republic of South Africa.

All political parties of my country, pointed out Nicaraguan representative Mr Chavez, regard apartheid as an unnatural phenomenon.

Just as other speakers, he strongly condemned Tel Aviv's repressive actions with regard to the population of the Israel-occupied Arab territories.

"Full implementation of the U.N. declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples would remove a whole number of factors which seriously complicate the international situation", stated Karibek Moldobayev, a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet. "There still are more than 20 colonial and semicolonial territories in the world. Moreover, neocolonialism seeks to make use of hunger, poverty, and economic backwardness of these countries in order to perpetuate their bondage".

The main cause of non-implementation of U.N. resolutions on decolonisation is in the fact that the preservation of colonialism meets the economic, political and military-strategic interests of imperialist powers, the speaker pointed out.

Manifestations of racism, apartheid, and national oppression were also strongly criticized by parliamentarians of Tunisia, Cuba, Venezuela, Candada, Iran, and Hungary.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze Arrives for Washington Talks

LD2209065688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, has arrived in the U.S. capital. During his visit to Washington, he will have talks with Secretary of State Shultz and a meeting with President Reagan. The entire range of questions concerning Soviet-U.S. relations will be discussed during the talks. Attention will, however, be focused on the problems which stand in the way of concluding an agreement on reducing the U.S. and Soviet strategic nuclear arms arsenals by 50 percent.

U.S. Officials, Commentator Preview Visit

White House Spokesman Cited

LD2209015088 Moscow TASS in English 2301 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Washington September 22 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is due to arrive in the U.S. capital on a visit tonight. He is to have two days of talks with the U.S. Secretary of State Shultz and to meet with President Ronald Reagan in the White House on Friday.

Questioned by the TASS correspondents Igor Ignatyev and Vladimir Matyash, the White House Deputy Press-Secretary Roman Popadiuk said that the upcoming talks in Washington will focus on questions in the four major areas of the U.S.-Soviet relations. He said that at each of their meetings the Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and the State Secretary Shultz have been able to make certain headway on different issues. Roman Popadiuk believes that some progress ought to come out of the upcoming talks. However, as the White House deputy press-secretary reiterated, the U.S. side is of the opinion that it will hardly be possible to complete the elaboration of the agreement on a 50 per cent cut in the strategic offensive arms arsenals of the USA and the USSR by the end of this year. The deputy press-secretary said that this administration would have difficulty completing the elaboration of the agreement on the strategic nuclear arms in view of the existence of specific issues concerning verification procedures and of certain other technical problems, as well as in view of the short remaining time of its incumbency.

This situation appears to dictate the overall U.S. approach to the continuing talks on nuclear and space weapons. According to the "WASHINGTON POST", which cites different sources, no new U.S. proposals have been prepared on the most complex issues standing in the way of the conclusion of the agreement on a 50 per cent cut in the strategic nuclear missiles.

Still, however, R. Ridgway, assistant secretary of state, speaking Tuesday at a Congress hearing, expressed the hope that at the upcoming U.S.-Soviet talks in Washington the sides will be able to make headway on many problems which are still outstanding. This is true of verification issues concerning mobile missiles, air-based cruise missiles and other problems of this kind. She said the administration would wish to make progress in these directions.

Glazunov Examines Talks

LD2109213788 Moscow World Service in English 1710 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Viktor Glazunov commentary]

[Text] The Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, is to have a meeting with the U.S. secretary of state, George Shultz, in Washington on Thursday and Friday. We have this comment from Viktor Glazunov:

The number of meetings between the heads of the two foreign policy departments is approaching 30. In fact, this will be the 27th meeting of its kind. Its convocation is a convincing illustration to how intensive is the Soviet-American dialogue. This dialogue is important not only for the two countries, but for the future of peace as well, if we take their prestige and their role in international affairs into account. This explains why the regular Shevardnadze-Shultz meeting arouses so much interest.

The American side used to declare in the spring, in connection with the fourth Soviet-American summit, that Soviet-American relations had never been better over the past more than 4 decades. Well, this is really so. Important steps have been taken in the process of improving Soviet-American relations. The main accomplishment was the signing of the treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles, but this work should be continued since completely normal and predictable relations are still too far away.

I have the impression, however, Viktor Glazunov continued, that since the Moscow summit, Soviet-American relations had been marking time, at least in the main directions. It is clear already now that the Soviet-American treaty on a 50-percent cut in strategic weapons will not be signed this year. It is important, however, to work to keep things moving. There is a need to work to remove all the obstacles in the way of the talks, rather than erect them.

I expect that during the Shevardnadze-Shultz meeting the prospects will be clarified of the Geneva talks on strategic and space weapons. One of the questions that is to be clarified in particular is if the American side will continue to regard the Krasnoyarsk radar station as the stumbling block at the talks, especially after the proposal

made by Mikhail Gorbachev, just for the sake of dispelling the unjustified apprehension of the American side, that the radar station be turned into a center for international cooperation in space.

The question of regional conflicts is one of the leading ones in the Soviet-American dialogue, continued Viktor Glazunov. And here the ministers have something to talk about. On the one hand, about the example worthy of following, that is the example of Soviet-American cooperation in the attainment of the Geneva accords regulating the situation around Afghanistan. On the other hand, there is the example of a different nature: the violation by the American side, together with Pakistan, of the same accords. What I see as the main thing in the approach to a settlement of regional conflicts, is the need to stop considering them from the standpoint of Soviet-American rivalry, the need to end any outside interference in the internal affairs of other states and to give the people the freedom of choice.

I believe that the idea of national reconciliation that originated on the much-suffered Afghan land and that was supported by Kampuchea and Nicaragua, has a future to itself, provided no obstacles are set up in its way. The Soviet Union and the United States could do much in this respect. As is known from the experience of the past, some meetings between Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz help to untangle the most complicated problems. Well, we will see after Friday, the last day of the meeting in Washington, if it will be the same kind this time or not, concluded Viktor Glasunov.

Journal Notes Ministry Session, Reagan Article

LD2109221388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1947 GMT 21 Sep 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Georgiy Zubkov]

[Text] Usually in this section we flip through the pages of foreign publications, but today I would like to present to you the latest issue of the magazine MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN. Not only specialists, but a wide circle of readers, too, will be interested in material published in the magazine on a scientific-practical conference held at the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the report on the eight sections of the conference, an in-depth analysis is given of the Soviet side's foreign political activity since the April plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th party congress.

Ways, forms, and methods of further restructuring Soviet diplomacy were discussed. The magazine states: The work of the conference was noteworthy for the frankness of its appraisals and the freshness of approaches and proposals, and it stressed the importance of strengthening the ties between science and foreign policy and enhancing the role of the human factor in diplomacy.

The magazine publishes the report of Comrade Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs, and the speeches by the heads of sections. In his summing-up, Comrade Shevardnadze noted that a very indicative picture emerged at the conference but in no way a rosy one, and critical tones prevailed. If the purpose was to subject foreign policy and diplomacy to critical analysis in light of the directives of the 19th party conference, the minister said, then in my view this purpose was achieved.

Soon MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN will publish an article by the U.S. President Ronald Reagan called "Freedom, Progress, and Peace," written especially for the magazine. The President handed this article to the magazine's editor in chief Boris Pyadyshev at the White House. Pyadyshev has granted an interview to our Washington correspondent Vladimir Dunayev:

[Begin recording] [Pyadyshev] following the Moscow summit meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan, the editors of the MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN magazine asked the U.S. President to write an article for the magazine. Now we have received this article. At the very beginning of the article the President writes that this request by MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN to him in the White House for an article is, from his point of view, one demonstration of the improvement in relations between our countries and one of the demonstrations of those new processes which have been occurring in Soviet-U.S. afffairs of late.

[Dunayev] When does the magazine intend to publish this article?

[Pyadyshev] The article is due to be published in the November issue of MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN. I think that it will attract the attention of Soviet readers, and not just Soviet readers, to the ideas and arguments of the U.S. President, and also a summary of the philosophy of Reaganism and his views on world affairs and on Soviet-U.S. relations.

[Dunayev] One final question: In your conversation with him, or in the article, does he give an assessment of restructuring and the changes which are happening in our country?

[Pyadyshev] Well, of course. What conversation or what article can there by today that does not mention restructuring in the Soviet Union? Yes, this subject is also touched on in the article, and I would like to say that the concluding words of the President's article amount to his opinion that the restructuring that is going on in the Soviet Union is one of the most exciting chapters in the history of all mankind. [end recording]

'Stereotypes' Mar Remarks by USIA's Wick

PM2109104388 Moscow TRUD in Russian
20 Sep 88 p 3

[Interview with USIA Director Charles Wick by own correspondent V. Sisnev in Washington: "Ties Are Developing, But Stereotypes Remain"; date not given—first two paragraphs are Sisnev introduction]

[Text] Washington—It is not very often that you hear applause at press conferences. But this was the exact reward for a speech at a meeting at the National Press Center by Dan Davidson, coordinator on the U.S. side of the program for a direct exchange of groups of schoolchildren between Soviet and U.S. educational institutions. This idea arose at the time of the Moscow meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and President R. Reagan. Now we have been told that its practical implementation is beginning. The first groups will consist of 10 children and 1 teacher, who will spend approximately 4 weeks living as guests of local families and speaking only English or Russian respectively. Ultimately the organizers of the exchange hope to increase the number of schoolchildren to 1,000 per year on each side.

At the end of the press conference, on meeting with USIA Director Charles Wick, who had participated in it, I asked him to answer a few questions especially for TRUD. This is how our conversation went, in a verbatim transcript of the tape recording:

[Sisnev] I would like, first of all, to hear your general opinion of the state of exchanges between our two countries, and what significance you attach to them.

[Wick] Exchanges are developing at a satisfactory pace. Included in these are those which began prior to November 1985, when a new agreement on this issue was signed in Geneva. It significantly extended the scale and categories of exchanges. It provided for reciprocal visits by performers and entire creative collectives, book exhibitions, information exhibitions—we are now concluding our round in the Soviet Union, while you recently made such an information round of six U.S. cities. Academic ties are developing well. We have had difficulties over access to Soviet archive materials for U.S. scientific workers, and there have also been certain problems over payment in rubles for hotel and transport services, but they have all either been resolved already or are at the stage of being resolved. The reports you have heard at today's press conference—at least 100 schools on your side and an equal number on ours are making contacts—are in themselves a very inspiring piece of news. The fact that children will live in ordinary family homes is also very interesting and will prove effective in achieving the purpose of the exchange, as perceived by General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan at last spring's Moscow meeting. They saw this as a means of reducing mutual misunderstanding, destroying the stereotypes which have formed in each of our countries with regard to the other, and constructively stimulating better relations and mutual understanding between the two great powers.

[Sisnev] Could you give even an approximate list of those categories of Soviet and U.S. citizens already involved in exchanges?

[Wick] There are journalists, writers, publishers, athletes, artistic figures, schoolteachers (teachers of Russian on our side and English on yours), specialists in archive research, and graduate students. The USIA is not directly involved in organizing ties along medical lines, but in December 1985 we helped to prepare a 2-hour television linkup in which Soviet cardiologists headed by Doctor Chazov and their authoritative U.S. colleagues participated. There are contacts along scientific and technical lines and also between economists in various fields. In Moscow on 26-28 September, 65 U.S. leaders of television and the other mass media, publishers, and journalists will discuss with their Soviet colleagues what must be done for more effective cooperation and how to set up an exchange of radio and television programs and joint television and film production.

[Sisnev] Thus, an exchange has been or is being set up in practically all spheres. But as a representative of a trade union newspaper, I would naturally like to know how things will stand as regards trade union exchanges.

[Wick] I have little idea of the AFL-CIO's position.

[Sisnev] I put this same question to Secretary of State Shultz. His reply to me was essentially that no exchange is foreseen.

[Wick] I know that labor unions are included in the agreement, but the AFL-CIO itself must decide. If the labor union center wants to enter into discussion with the Soviet side, that is up to it. But it disagrees with you over just what to consider a trade union.

[Sisnev] There are disagreements in any sphere.

[Wick] But some of them are fundamental and concern the essence of the matter.

[Sisnev] It is particularly strange that people who are not trade union officials but ordinary workers and employees are not admitted to the United States.

[Wick] Perhaps your definition of this category does not coincide with ours. This is an area of heightened sensitivity.

[Sisnev] Why is that?

[Wick] Soviet representatives voiced approximately the same concern to me in connection with the fact that we deny visas to some of your journalists. I promised to shed light on this and later informed them that the said

persons are considered not journalists but KGB agents. I am speaking perfectly frankly with you. I am afraid this also applies to the question you raise. Our sides' interests frequently come into conflict, and although the process inspired by Gorbachev and Reagan of surmounting conflicts is taking place, the State Department, the FBI, and other organizations do not always agree to satisfy requests for visas for Soviet citizens.

[Sisnev] But it is a question of something quite different here. We are speaking of an exchange of people, and yet there is an obvious inequality here: Literally hundreds of U.S. labor union delegations visit the Soviet Union, while the U.S. door remains closed to our trade unions. I had hoped to hear from you something optimistic in this regard.

[Wick] This is all I can say in reply to this: You can ask me about a specific case, and I will try to ascertain what can be done. I will speak with Lane Kirkland (president of the AFL-CIO—V.S.) and find out his viewpoint. But you must bear in mind that there are certain areas connected with your and our security. There public diplomacy stops and different judgments come into play.

Editor's note: It is difficult, nonetheless, to refrain from commenting on certain statements by Mr Charles Wick. His thoughts on the development of multifaceted U.S.-USSR ties are undoubtedly very interesting. His sensible reference to the need to "destroy stereotypes" is remarkable. But then, at the end of the interview, there is an unexpected return to these very stereotypes which formerly did nothing to embellish U.S.-Soviet relations. Again the mythical "KGB agents," again the "threat to the security" of the United States. Even ordinary workers and employees, according to the USIA director's definition, come under some "area of enhanced sensitivity." Thanks, of course, for the "perfect frankness." Obviously according to the principle: It is better to show your hand with regard to the continuing visa restrictions than to keep it hidden.... And yet I would like as quickly as possible to bring nearer the time when no one in the United States will see the image of a "terrible and dangerous" enemy in ordinary Soviet workers and employees. For the time being I can only profoundly regret how tenacious are the worthless stereotypes of the past in some people in that country. In this case (we too are speaking perfectly frankly) in the leader of the department which is called upon to play—and I would like to hope that it will do so—a role of considerable importance in setting up contacts among people.

China

Khabarovsk Official Comments on Border Trade

OW2209021788 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Dear listeners, Soviet-Chinese talks on the further expansion of economic and trade cooperation in the border region were held in Khabarovsk this summer. These talks concluded with the signing of a joint protocol that maps out long-term and effective actions. Parts of the plan are being fulfilled, while many other parts have yet to be accomplished. Our reporter stationed in the Far East, Kefutong, interviewed Tomayalskiy, deputy chairman of the Khabarovsk border region executive council, on this matter. Tomayalskiy led the Soviet delegation during the talks.

Comrade Tomayalskiy said: The protocol stipulated the further expansion of cooperation between the two countries' border regions on the basis of mutual benefit. For example, our commerce bureau and the association of border [words indistinct] cooperatives will conduct trade with Heilongjiang's External Trade Corporation to exploit barter trade potential. The two sides have to take measures to improve transportation because the volume of trade has continued to expand and our present transportation situation is very tight. In this respect, we have reached an agreement whereby the USSR will study the possibility of water transportation. This is particularly important in view of the limited capacity of railway transportation.

Comrade Tomayalskiy continued: During Soviet-Chinese contacts there have been frequent mentions of joint ventures and providing supplies to each other. This implies joint effort to produce high-quality daily necessities. For example, it has been decided that Heilongjiang will supply generators, frames, and other spare parts to the Far East Diesel Engine Plant in Khabarovsk in exchange for marine diesel engines. The Far East Sewing Joint Company of Khabarovsk will supply raw materials to China and receive finished garments in return. We have also agreed to establish enterprises along our border to process soy beans, vegetables, and milk. We are negotiating the provision of 100 hectares of land in Vyazemskiy and Obluchye for Chinese farmers to cultivate vegetables. We have also agreed to allow development syndicates and construction firms from Heilongjiang to construct (?social and cultural projects) in the border area of Khabarovsk. We will strive to accomplish our goals as soon as possible because time is running out.

In conclusion, Comrade Tomayalskiy stated: We are presently making a detailed study of the clauses of the Soviet-Chinese protocol with agricultural and commercial organizations and railway and construction personnel in the border region. We have also agreed to exchange experts to study issues in more detail. We are currently pursuing this matter. For example, a Far East Construction Company delegation has just been to Harbin. We are thinking of inviting the Chinese delegation to come here to study and resolve the issue of [words indistinct]. Fulfilling the plan unconditionally enables us to make a big stride forward in strengthening economic and trade ties between the border regions of Heilongjiang and Khabarovsk. This is a long-term, meaningful, and mutually-beneficial plan.

Northeast Asia

Japanese React to Krasnoyarsk Initiatives

Leaders Desire Improved Ties

LD2109205588 Moscow TASS in English 1936 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Tokyo September 21 TASS—Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita of Japan, answering today the interpellations during a plenary meeting of the upper house of parliament said that he sincerely welcomed the desire for improved Japanese-Soviet relations, expressed in the speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Krasnoyarsk. Referring to the seven new peace proposals of the USSR, presented by the Soviet leader, the Japanese premier said he expected of the Soviet Union "concrete steps aimed at greater security in the Asia- Pacific region."

Japan's Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno, for his part, said he welcomed the part of Mikhail Gorbachev's speech about the forthcoming political contacts with Japan. He expressed the hope for improved relations between Japan and the USSR, to be achieved through different talks. He said the Soviet seven points draft "contains new proposals." At the same time he attempted to play down the importance of the new peace initiatives put forward by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by saying that they contained "few components conducive to enhancement of security."

Positive Reaction Noted

PM2109160188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 88 Morning Edition pp 1, 5

[Correspondent S. Agafonov dispatch: "Strategic Realism"]

[Text] Tokyo—The new package of Soviet foreign policy initiatives advanced in the Krasnoyarsk speech of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has attracted the close attention of the Japanese mass media, political circles, and the public.

What is the reaction? If we speak of the general tenor of the statements and assessments, it is, on the whole, couched in positive tones. The topicality of the Soviet initiatives, their attractiveness, and the realistic nature of the approach to the region's problems founded on good will and the search for mutually acceptable ways to resolve them are noted; much is written about the comprehensive nature of the proposals advanced and their peace-loving thrust, and it is pointed out that the Krasnoyarsk program could be the basis for fundamental changes in regional affairs and lead to a lessening of tension and to the creation of guarantees of security for all states in this part of the planet.

The points directly addressed to Japan are singled out in particular—attention is focused on the Soviet leadership's desire to improve Soviet-Japanese relations and activate economic ties between the two countries. Japanese Prime Minister N. Takeshita, in particular, told journalists that he welcomes the USSR's proposals aimed at easing tension in the Asia and Pacific region. They still have to be studied in detail, the prime minister pointed out, but, regardless of the details, they attest to the positive development of events, since they demonstrate the Soviet Union's interest in maintaining peace in this region.

At the same time, this—largely—favorable assessment is by no means the only one in Japan. There are attempts to present the Soviet initiatives as a new propaganda demarche devoid of novelty and specificity. Right-wing political scientists insist that no abrupt changes are to be observed in the Soviet position. The conservative press is beginning to develop the thesis of the advantages which the USSR is trying to secure in Asia. It is written, for example, that limiting the activeness of fleets and reducing naval arms will undermine strategic parity in the Asia and Pacific region and profit Moscow. But Japan, on the contrary, will supposedly only lose out, since its security depends on the strength of the U.S. fleet in the region. It has become commonplace to calculate the strategic significance of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines and the Soviet fleet's material and technical supply center in Cam Ranh Bay, which boils down to the inadequacy of the Soviet proposal to get out of Cam Ranh if the United States cuts back its military presence in the Philippines.

It is significant that these nuances can also be perceived in the official statements issued by the Japanese Foreign Ministry and the Japan Defense Agency with regard to the Krasnoyarsk speech. Thus, for example, the Foreign Policy Department's assessment, which MAINICHI cites in detail, emphasizes after a positive preamble and hopes of improved Soviet-Japanese relations that the USSR's new initiatives in principle do not go beyond the proposals made 2 years ago in Vladivostok and voices doubt as to their feasibility. The Japan Defense Agency also harps upon the propaganda aspect, ardently defending the strategic role of the U.S. bases in the Philippines as the cornerstone of regional security.

It is characteristic, however, that despite all the shades of opinion no one rejects the Soviet initiatives out of hand, as has happened before. To accept them or question them is another matter, but they have provided serious food for thought, outlined the main priorities of regional policy, and, finally, become the basis for a broad debate. The USSR's proposals for easing tension in the Asia and Pacific region essentially concern all the states in the region and, as commentators point out, demand not only close study but also a concrete response. The calls for a certain revision of foreign policy guidelines, particularly by Japan, are not accidental. The majority of the commentaries on the Krasnoyarsk speech contain good wishes and hopes connected with the USSR foreign minister's upcoming visit to Japan. The dialogue with Moscow must develop—without exaggeration, everyone is agreed on this.

Your correspondent in Tokyo asked some Japanese politicians and scientists to share their views on the new Soviet initiatives. Here are their opinions.

Yoshio Sakurauchi, former foreign minister and parliament deputy:

"I wholeheartedly welcome the proposals advanced by M.S. Gorbachev during his Krasnoyarsk speech. Of course, they require more detailed concretization and elaboration, but it is obvious that the Soviet leadership is deeply interested in the development of the situation in the Asia and Pacific region, attaches great significance to it, and seeks to act in a positive direction here. In my view, one of the priority tasks now is for Mr Gorbachev to visit Japan. The situation now is conducive to realizing the Soviet proposals. Speaking in Krasnoyarsk, your leader dwelt on the problem of nuclear arms. In principle we advocate their total elimination, but for the time being we have to be satisfied with lowering the nuclear threshold and maintaining the nuclear equilibrium at a lower level. The Soviet-U.S. agreement on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles opens up bright prospects before the whole world. I cordially wish for the most active work to be continued in this area."

Professor Takehiko Kamo of Waseda University:

"General Secretary Gorbachev's speech attracts attention, above all, as the first specific comprehensive proposal aimed at easing tension in the Asia and Pacific region. One of its central positions is the containment and reduction of naval forces in this region. In the accords on arms reduction that existed until now the question of sea-launched nuclear missiles was removed from the discussion. Now the USSR initiatives open the way to effective measures on this problem, too. I must note the Soviet Union's consistent desire to improve the international climate and its readiness to develop a dialogue in any form by meeting partners half way. I would call this tactic strategic realism. And it has to be admitted that it promotes favorable changes both in the world as a whole and with regard to the Soviet Union in particular.

"As for Soviet-Japanese affairs, an analysis of their recent development convinces me that their turn for the better in the very near future is not only theoretically possible but also possible in practice. There are many politicians and representatives of economic circles in Japan who feel hostility toward the USSR. They believe that Japanese-Soviet relations are doomed to stagnate and cannot change until the territorial problem is resolved. I consider such an approach consciously narrow and dead-end. I believe that it is possible and necessary to change the present conservative sentiment with regard to the Soviet Union, build our policy not on the principle of confrontation but on the principle of interdependence, and constantly broaden the dialogue. This is very important for the common good."

Tokuoma Utsunomiya, independent deputy of the upper house of the Japanese Parliament:

"The Soviet Union's desire to establish good-neighborly relations with all states in our extensive region, regardless of their social system and political orientation, can only be welcomed. People in Japan rate highly the specific steps in this direction and therefore emphasize the special significance of the 'Krasnoyarsk program.'

"The new Soviet proposals affect practically all the countries of the region. They mention South Korea for the first time. Many points are addressed directly to Japan. You know well that the Japanese have a kind of prejudice against the USSR, which is rooted in the territorial problem. Of course, if the Soviet Union made any concessions or a compromise in this matter, things would stand differently. But we must proceed from the realities, value the present thaw in the world, and not test its strength. We must be careful with this new detente, above all in the sense that we must not demand changes and certain actions only of the Soviet Union. Every people and every country has its own section of the path which it must cover."

Soviets, Japan End Salmon Talks Without Accord

LD2109194488 Moscow TASS in English 1907 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—TASS correspondent Mikhail Vladimirov writes:

Considerable differences remain in the positions of the USSR and Japan over the open-sea fishery of salmon fishes that propagate in Soviet rivers. This was revealed by three-day consultations which came to a close in the USSR Ministry of Fisheries today.

The Japanese side continues to insist on maintaining the sea fisheries of salmon, although the negative effect of fishery operations on the state of salmon stocks is recognized by an overwhelming majority of scientists of various countries.

The point is that away from the coast it is diffcult to determine the sex-and-age composition of salmon. Species that are on their way to spawning grounds are often caught.

In this connection the Soviet Union, following many other countries where salmon fishes propagate, has announced that from 1992 it introduces a complete ban on the sea fisheries of salmon which propagate in Soviet Rivers. Such measure does not contradict the provisions of international law and the bilaterial Soviet-Japanese agreement on cooperation in fisheries.

At the same time, taking into account the interests of Japanese fisheries workers, the Soviet side is prepared to give them an opportunity to catch salmon within the 200 mile economic zone of the USSR, which would make up

for possible economic losses owing to the termination of fishery operations in the open sea. Such cooperation could develop in the form of joint fishing-industry enterprises and also, possibly, on a licence basis.

The placing of Soviet-Japanese cooperation in the use of salmon stocks on a rational basis undoubtedly meets the long-term interests of the fishery workers of the two countries. But so far the Japanese side insists on a continuation of sea fisheries which are ruinous for salmon. Consultations on this issue will be continued in the coming months.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Soviet Envoy in Manila Reiterates Bases Offer

HK2209072588 Hong Kong AFP in English 0200 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Manila, Sept 22 (AFP)—The Soviet Union is still willing to abandon its naval base in Vietnam even if Washington moves U.S. bases in the Philippines to Guam or other parts of the Pacific, Soviet Ambassador to Manila Oleg Sokolov said Thursday.

The proposal was an elaboration of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Siberia last week when he proposed the scrapping of U.S. bases in the Philippines in return for Soviet withdrawal from Vietnam's Cam Ranh Bay.

Washington had previously rejected Mr. Gorbachev's offer, while Philippine President Corazon Aquino said that she was leaving the issue to the two superpowers to discuss.

Mr. Sokolov reiterated the offer to remove Soviet forces from Cam Ranh Bay if U.S. bases left this country, regardless of whether they were removed by Washington's action or by Manila's.

He told a news conference that the offer was good, "in whatever form that elimination (of U.S. bases) comes, we will be in a position to carry out our ... obligation."

Mr. Sokolov also denied that the Soviet offer was an attempt to influence a current Philippine-U.S. review of the bilateral treaty allowing Washington to maintain Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base till 1991.

The talks have been prolonged by disputes over compensation. Washington has threatened to move the bases to Guam and other Pacific islands if Manila demands too much in rent.

Mr. Sokolov admitted that Washington had not yet responded to Mr. Gorbachev's earlier offer, but he said "it has been indicated by some statesmen in Washington that they will give serious consideration of this proposal." He did not elaborate.

He also proposed a meeting of foreign ministers of countries involved in the Asia-Pacific region to discuss security issues, noting that at present there were no formal "negotiating mechanisms" within the region comparable to those in Europe.

Admits U.S. Bases Larger

HK2209105188 Quezon City GMA-7 Radio-Television Arts Network in Tagalog 1030 GMT 22 Sep 88

[From "GMA News" program]

[Text]The Soviet ambassador to the Philippines today defended his country's proposal calling for the two superpowers to pull out from Southeast Asia.

Ambassador Oleg Sokolov explained that all parties who want to maintain peace and unity in the region should endeavour to reach a consensus. Sokolov also admitted that the USSR bases in Cam Ranh Bay, Vietnam are smaller than the U.S. bases in Clark and Subic. This was in reaction to a statement by Defense Secretary Fidel Ramos yesterday, which called for a careful study of the Soviet proposal to close down Cam Ranh in exchange for the pull-out of the Americans from the Philippines. Ramos also said that the withdrawal of the United States will create a vacuum in Southeast Asia.

According to Sokolov, what matters most was not the level of security value but the interests of affected countries.

Nguyen Co Thach Supports Gorbachev Proposals

LD2109163288 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Hanoi September 21 TASS—The new proposals advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, are furthering the programme which he put forward in Vladivostok for strengthening peace and peoples' security in the Asia-Pacific Region (APR), stated Nguyen Co Thach, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV). He gave an interview to the West German magazine HANDELSBLATT.

The Soviet proposals, which envisage limitation on naval forces in the region and lower level of military confrontation in North East Asia, measures to prevent incidents in the open sea and in the air space over it, the holding of an international conference as soon as possible on making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, and the establishment of a negotiating mechanism to consider the problems of APR security, are highly appreciated and fully supported in Vietnam, the minister emphasized.

As for the Soviet Union's proposal about its readiness to give up the use of the material and technical supply station in the Vietnamese Cam Ranh Bay if the United

States agrees to eliminate its military bases in the Philippines, the USSR and the SRV exchanged views on this matter. The Soviet side has full right to negotiate with the United States on the said conditions, the minister pointed out.

Further Reportage on Situation in Burma

'All' Soviets Reported Safe

LD2109223988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1950 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Excerpts] According to foreign news agencies, the situation in Rangoon, the Burmese capital, continues to deteriorate. [passage omitted] The USSR Embassy reports that all the Soviet people who find themselves in Burma are safe, well, and have everything they need.

'Dangerous Maelstrom'

PM2109115988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[Oleg Skalkin "Viewpoint": "Burmese Maelstrom"]

[Text] The further events develop, the more complex the situation in Burma becomes. Last Sunday the country of the golden pagodas was rocked by another coup d'etat. As a result of the latest change of supreme leadership—the third since this July—power in the country has passed into the hands of General Saw Maung. In addition to the posts of defense minister and chief of the Burmese Armed Forces General Staff, he headed the "Group for Peace and Stability" made up of 19 high-ranking officers, who have also assumed full power.

According to the official version presented to the country and the world, "the military are first trying to overcome the difficulties and deprivations suffered by the people, after which general elections will be held." As we can see, these promises are extremely vague and woolly. They do not reflect the despair generated by the development of the political crisis in Burma now.

You can't escape the facts: The struggle to create conditions that would enable Burma to extricate itself from the quagmire of economic collapse and social degradation has in recent years taken an acute antigovernmental slant. The numerous misfortunes that have beset the country are associated in Burmese minds with the policy implemented by the Burma Socialist Program Party [BSPP]. The elitism of its leadership, shored up—like the entire power structure from top to bottom—by the imperative of the military, was also obvious to everyone. Events decreed that Burma's generals were on the opposite side of the barricades in the struggle for the country's revival.

For more than 25 years the force of power in Burmese politics has appeared above all as the power of force, to be more precise, military force. The events of 18 September developed according to this simple formula. Observers who dubbed as "phony" the latest coup in Rangoon are evidently not far from the truth. It has indeed changed nothing in the alignment of forces in the country. The leader's name has changed yet again and new promises and new threats against the opposition can be heard. First one general was replaced by another general. Then at the height of a "year of protest"—as the stormy events of recent months in the country are described—the civilian Maung Maung was promoted to the supreme post in the government and the BSPP. His short rule coincided with a phase of concessions to the opposition that it now seems were designed to win time.

Let us recall that last month the state of emergency was repealed in Burma and the ban on the activity of political parties, trade unions, and other public organizations lifted. Political arrests ended and many restrictions on Burmans' democratic rights and freedoms were abrogated. Public organizations began to be rebuilt and opposition groupings of various tendencies began to take shape. The country learned the names of the leaders heading them—Aung Gyi, Su Kyi, Tin U, U Nu, and others. Everything pointed to the government's intention to fulfill its promise regarding the holding of general elections on a multiparty basis, which, as is well known, was and still is one of the opposition's main political slogans backed up by the continuing general strike and mass demonstrations. On the eve of the coup official representatives and the opposition discussed practical questions of organizing an election campaign in the country. The government was endeavoring to ensure that the election commission worked under the leadership of the BSPP, whereas the other sides, or the sides opposing this objected, were insisting on the creation of a transitional government.

It goes without saying that following the coup these disputes and disagreements have, to put it mildly, lost their topicality. Like a vicious circle, the wheel of events has turned back again. A state of emergency has been introduced in Rangoon and other cities, all rallies and demonstrations banned, and parliament dissolved. The powers of the local organs of power, which had in many places transferred to opposition control, have been repealed. Soldiers are trigger-happy again when dispersing demonstrations. The list of casualties is rising...

The situation is not simple. On the one hand, the steps taken by the authorities operating in a state of emergency have not restrained mass protests: News of disturbances is coming in from all ends of the country. On the other—the continuing acuteness of the situation precludes steps which could help revive the economy, the disintegration of which ultimately led to the present political crisis. The development of events in Burma is indeed reminiscent of a dangerous maelstrom from which it will be difficult to extricate oneself.

Recent Events Reviewed

BK2109125688 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Rangoon Radio announced yesterday that the new military government in Burma has formed a cabinet. It comprises eight military officers who are members of the State Law and Order Restoration Council, which was established right after the military coup, and a civilian. General Saw Maung was proclaimed as the prime minister.

According to news agencies, Rangoon was relatively calm on Tuesday [20 September]. There were only minor clashes between the soldiers and the crowds who were looting warehouses and attacking the military trucks. Soldiers who are in control of all key places in Rangoon have been ordered to show restraint and to use their weapons only on unavoidable occasions, according to an announcement by Rangoon Radio [as heard].

Opposition leaders announced on Tuesday that the demonstrations have been called off the Rangoon streets to halt further bloodshed. Leading opposition leaders Aung San Suu Kyi, former Defense Minister Tin U, and ex-Brigadier General Aung Gyi jointly issued a statement on Tuesday denouncing the military takeover. At the same time they called for talks with Gen Saw Maung to resolve the problem peacefully.

Gen Saw Maung, who led the military coup, said on Sunday [18 September] that the defense forces had taken over to help resolve the difficulties and problems facing the people, and after accomplishing that, to hold multiparty general elections. The holding of such general elections is the key demand by the opposition, but it wants the elections to be held under an independent interim government and not supervised by military authorities.

Laws that restrict the existence of political parties except the ruling party have been abrogated now. They have also banned rallies and demonstrations in order to restore law and order, and have ordered workers and public service personnel to return to work. Yesterday, the authorities extended to 3 October the deadline for the workers to return to work.

Presently almost all key economic industries in Burma have been paralyzed, and there is concern that economic disaster and famine will strike the country. Observers believe it is necessary to revive the economy if politics is to develop normally in the country. Observers praise the opposition and religious leaders for their positive attitude in calling on the people to show restraint and to fight for their cause only through peaceful means.

At a press briefing held in Moscow yesterday, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the Soviet Union is very concerned with the report that weapons were used in Rangoon and the other Burmese cities. Whatever the reasons may be for using weapons, it is the belief of the USSR that all parties involved should now stop using them and should endeavor toward a quick end to the bloodletting state of affairs and toward the return to normalcy.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said the USSR wants to see Burma as an independent, united, and peace-loving country.

More on Soviet Visit by SRV's Vo Chi Cong

Tours Friendship Union 20 Sep

BK2109034488 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2300 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] On the afternoon of 20 September, Chairman Vo Chi Cong visited the Union of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Other Countries of the Soviet Union and attended a meeting of key cadres of the Soviet-Vietnam Friendship Association.

Welcoming Chairman Vo Chi Cong at the meeting on the Soviet side were Comrades Ivanov, first deputy chairman of the Union of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Other Countries of the Soviet Union; Titov, chairman of the Soviet-Vietnam Friendship Association; and many other leading cadres of the union and the association.

Our country's ambassador to the Soviet Union, Nguyen Manh Cam, was also present at the meeting. Comrades Ivanov and Titov and the leading cadres of the Soviet-Vietnam Friendship Association, various grass roots chapters, and a production combine made statements to express the traditional friendship and fraternal solidarity between the peoples of the two countries, and to report the activities of the association and various chapters to help strengthen the friendship, understanding, and cooperation between the two countries.

They all expressed their conviction that Chairman Vo Chi Cong's visit would help to consolidate the friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the two countries and nations, and is an important contribution to developing the Soviet-Vietnamese relationship.

Speaking to the key cadres of the Soviet-Vietnam Friendship Association, Chairman Vo Chi Cong highly appraised and sincerely thanked the Soviet people for their profound sentiments and their valuable support and assistance, and the Soviet-Vietnam Friendship Association for its great contributions to the strengthening and development of friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the Soviet Union and Vietnam. He clearly pointed out that at present the Vietnamese-Soviet relations of comprehensive cooperation have entered a

new stage. He voiced the conviction that the Vietnam-Soviet and Soviet-Vietnam friendship associations would accelerate their activities in the spirit of renovation in order to make even greater contributions to strengthening and consolidating the fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the two parties and countries.

Meets With Gorbachev

PM2209102188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting With Vo Chi Cong"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with Vo Chi Cong, member of the Political Bureau of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee and president of the SRV Council of State, who is in the USSR on an official friendly visit, in the Kremlin 21 September.

The participants in the conversation exchanged information about the activities of the CPSU and the CPV and the tasks which are currently being tackled in the two fraternal countries. Both sides stressed their determination to develop all-around Soviet-Vietnamese collaboration on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation whose 10th anniversary will be marked in November this year.

During the discussion of international problems the Vietnamese side expressed full support for the new Soviet initiatives set forth recently in Krasnoyarsk. The Soviet leader noted that the USSR highly values the efforts of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia aimed at improving the situation in Southeast Asia and transforming this region into a zone of peace, stability, security, and cooperation. The sides welcomed the progress which has been achieved in the cause of reaching a Cambodian settlement.

The meeting which passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding, as is traditional for Soviet-Vietnamese relations, was attended by Nguyen Manh Kam, SRV ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Vo Chi Cong Speech

BK2109161088 Hanoi VNA in English 1535 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Hanoi OANA-VNA Sept. 21—Mikhail Gorbachev, secretary general of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee, received in the Kremlin this morning Vo Chi Cong, Politburo member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and State Council president, now on an official friendship visit to the Soviet Union. Vo Chi Cong conveyed to Mikhail Gorbachev the best regards from party General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh and other senior Vietnamese party officials.

President Vo Chi Cong expressed his pleasure over the positive and far-reaching changes now taking place in every field of the socioeconomic life in the Soviet Union. He highly valued the Soviet Union's great contributions to creating new, broad possibilities for maintaining security and defending peace in the world, and building a future world of peace, friendship, cooperation, and without nuclear weapons.

The Vietnamese president pointed out that General Secretary M. Gorbachev's important speech delivered in Krasnoyarsk on Sept. 16 was a new development of the Vladivostok statement of July 28, 1986, thus making great contributions to accelerating the trend for peace, dialogue and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific.

He highly appreciated the Soviet Union's support for the initiatives of Vietnam, the People's Republic of Kampuchea and Laos in the search for an equal and reasonable political solution to the Kampuchea issue, and for Vietnam's efforts aimed at normalizing relations with China.

The Vietnamese president stressed that the meetings between Nguyen Van Linh and Mikhail Gorbachev in May last year and July this year are important landmarks in the relations of the two parties and states in the spirit of renovation and restructuration.

General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev reaffirmed the Soviet Union's full support for Vietnam's positive and dynamic foreign policy, and the Soviet close coordination with Vietnam in their international activities aimed at stepping up a just solution to the Kampuchea issue, normalizing relations with China and developing relations with all countries in the regions.

The two leaders expressed their determination to strengthen and develop the two countries' all-sided relations, and make them ever more effective.

In the afternoon, President Vo Chi Cong left Moscow for Kiev to continue his visit to the Soviet Union. He was greeted at Vnukovo-2 Airport by Chairman Andrey Gromyko.

Gromyko Attends Departure

LD2109210589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 21 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Vo Chi Cong left Moscow today for Kiev. The guest was seen off at Vnukovo Airport by Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko. The chief of the guard of honor gave the report and the state hymns of the two countires were played. Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko and Vo Chi Cong inspected a formation of Soviet servicemen. Taking part in the seeing-off ceremony were heads of the diplomatic corps accredited to the USSR. The solemn seeing-off ceremony ended with a march past of the guard of honor.

The state flags of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the USSR were unfurled on the streets and squares of the capital along which the motorcade and motorcycle escort traveled to the airport. [video shows Gromyko and Vo Chi Cong leaving airport building, then inspecting guard of honor, Vo Chi Cong shaking hands with Vietnamese diplomats, both men saluting march-past; they shake hands before Vo Chi Cong boards aircraft]

Meets Ukrainian Official

LD2209023589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A meeting took place in Kiev in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR between Vo Chi Cong and Comrade Shevchenko, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the republic.

The same day, Vo Chi Cong laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Eternal Glory Park.

Comparison of Report on Gorbachev-Vo Meeting

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 22 September 1988 carries in its Morning Edition on page 1 a TASS report on the 21 September Kremlin meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the SRV Council of State. The IZVESTIYA article, entitled "Meeting Between M.S. Gorbachev and Vo Chi Cong", has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published in the 21 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT under the the subhead "Gorbachev Meets Vo Chi Cong", page 29, revealing the following variations:

Column two, first paragraph, line two reads in IZVESTIYA: "...in our country, practical work to implement..." (adding "practical")

Third paragraph, line one reads in IZVESTIYA: "...mutual determination to strengthen in the future..." (subbing "strengthen" for "cement")

Third paragraph, line three reads in IZVESTIYA: "...of fraternity and multifaceted interaction between the..." (subbing "multifaceted" for "multifarious")

Third paragraph, line seven reads in IZVESTIYA: "...need to realize consistently the accords on..." (subbing "consistently" for "stage-by-stage")

Fourth paragraph, line one reads in IZVESTIYA: "...discussion of international problems, the Vietnamese side expressed complete support for the new Soviet initiatives laid..." (subbing "problems" for "issues," "complete" for "unreserved," and adding "new")

Fourth paragraph, line four reads in IZVESTIYA: "...in the USSR assess highly the efforts of..." (subbing "assess highly" for "commend")

Fourth paragraph, line eight reads in IZVESTIYA: "...sides welcomed the emergent progress in settling..." (subbing "emergent" for "shaped-up")

Sihanouk Attacks Pol Pot Supporters' Actions

PM2109142388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Prince Sihanouk Accuses Pol Pot Supporters"]

[Text] Bangkok, 20 Sep—"The Pol Pot supporters torture people and carry out executions without trial or investigation" in the Cambodian refugee camps under their control in Thailand, reads a statement disseminated here by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, one of the Cambodian opposition leaders. The "Khmer Rouge," he added, "deport" thousands of refugees from their camps, and no one knows where the victims of violence are or what has happened to them.

In addition, Sihanouk pointed out, in the border regions of Cambodia "the Pol Pot supporters execute growing numbers of villagers after accusing them of being my supporters." According to him, the "Khmer Rouge" are also continuing to attack formations of the so-called "National Sihanouk Army." Observers for the International Red Cross, the United Nations, and other aid organizations have documentary confirmation of all these actions, Sihanouk declared.

The grouping headed by Sihanouk is formally an ally of the Pol Pot supporters. Together with the grouping led by Son Sann, they make up a tripartite coalition of antigovernment forces. However, the "Khmer Rouge's" militarized groups constantly mount bloody clashes with Sihanouk's forces. Citing the Pol Pot supporters' hostility, in July of this year Sihanouk resigned from the post of head of the opposition coalition.

The prince has urged UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar and the "governments protecting the Pol Pot supporters" to persuade that grouping to end this criminal practice without delay.

Laos' Phomvihane Discusses Southeast Asia

LD2109110088 Moscow TASS in English 1019 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Berlin September 21 TASS—The solution of the Kampuchean problem is indissolubly linked with questions of strengthening peace and stability in Southeast Asia, Kaysone Phomvihane, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic (LPDR), said at a reception given

here in his honour by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic.

The withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea should be shored up by efforts aimed at excluding the possibility of restoring the genocide regime and at cutting off foreign aid to the Pol Pot group. These demands were approved at the informal meeting in Indonesia last July. The LPDR unreservedly supports the principles which were made by the People's Republic of Kampuchea the basis of a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

Phomvihane touched on questions of Loatian-Thai relations. He stressed, in part, that the LPDR's consistent stance amounts to handling all problems by peaceful means, to the striving for goodneighbourly relations between the two countries on the basis of the Laotian-Thai joint statements of 1979. We hope that the new Thai Government will take a friendly stance and resume talks with a view to the speediest normalization of relations and turning the Laotian-Thai border into the border of peace and friendship, the Laotian leader said.

Australian Parliamentarians Visit Khabarovsk

PM2109135188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Australian Parliamentarians' Visit"]

[Text] Khabarovsk—The Soviet Far East with its rich natural resources could be included in active cooperation with Australian firms and companies. The search for opportunities for such partnership is one of the aims of a visit to the USSR by a delegation of Australian parliamentarians representing the country's Liberal Party. After a 3-day stay in Khabarovsk the delegation left for Japan yesterday.

At the meetings with leaders of Khabarovsk Kray's soviet, economic, and planning organs, mutual interest was expressed in activating trade and economic ties. The guests' attention was drawn to the long-term state program for the development of the production forces of the Far East and the Transbaykal through the year 2000, a considerable proportion of which is devoted to the region's international cooperation. The main avenues on which the Far East and Australia could build their relations in the immediate future were defined.

This region of your country is no further from us than Japan, with which we maintain close trade and economic ties, so why should we not establish similar contacts with you?, J. Moore, the head of the delegation, said in a talk with a TASS correspondent. For the delegation members representing the interests of different business circles of our country this has not simply been a familiarization trip. We were able to outline specific avenues of partnership. They include cooperation in the mining industry, in which Australia has sufficient experience. Joint projects in agriculture are not ruled out.

Near East & South Asia

Yazov To Visit India 'Later This Month'

LD2109163588 Moscow TASS in English 1618 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—Soviet Defence Minister General Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party Central Committee, will pay an official visit to India later this month.

He has been invited by the Indian Government.

Further on Afghan Prime Minister's Visit

Meets Talyzin in Leningrad

LD2109195988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] The stay in our country of Muhammad Hasan Sharq, the prime minister of Afghanistan, is continuing. A conversation took place today in the Leningrad Gorispolkom during which the guest was acquainted with the economic and social development of Leningrad, restructuring in the activities of the bodies of local soviet power, and the broadening of democracy and glasnost.

The prospects for developing direct communications between Leningrad and Herat were also discussed. Taking part in the conversation were Nikolay Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

At the Piskarevskoye memorial cemetery, Sharq paid tribute to the memory of the people of Leningrad and the servicemen who died during the years of the Great Patriotic War. He laid a wreath at the Monument of the Motherland.

Sharq Departs for Kabul

LD2209111488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Prime Minister Sharq completed his official friendly visit to the USSR today and left Leningrad for Kabul. At Pulkovo Airport he was seen off by Comrade Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Afghan Vice President Interviewed on Ties
LD2109194388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Whereas the principal events and journeys of Comrade Shevardnadze are still ahead, the visit of Mohammad Hasan Sharq, prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, to the Soviet Union, has long been at the center of attention of both the Soviet and Afghan public, as well representatives of various layers and groups of Afghan society. Here is what Abdul Rahim Hatef, Afghan vice president, said in an interview with our Kabul correspondent:

[Begin Hatef recording in vernacular, fading into Russian translation] The present visit of Prime Minister Mohammad Hasan Sharq to the Soviet Union is taking place at a time when the national reconciliation policy is being implemented in our country. That policy has become the meaning of life for many Afghans.

Its success, naturally, depends on the degree of observance of the Geneva accords. Our country and the Soviet Union have been fulfilling their Geneva pledges in a firm and unswerving way. Afghan-Soviet relations have a rich history. Since October 1917, the Land of the Soviets has always rendered us comprehensive help.

Every Afghan knows that more than 200 national economic facilities have been built in our country with Soviet technical and economic aid, and many are in the process of being built.

The help of the Soviet Union was rendered to Afghanistan in different periods of time, despite political changes. Following the April Revolution, its volume was stepped up considerably. At present, our ties are developing not only in the economic field, but also between public organizations. Recently, after the coalition government was set up under the guidance of Muhammad Hasan Sharq, the political situation at home changed. This government is taking bold steps along the road to national peace and consensus. I am convinced that as a result of that visit, our traditional relations will be strengthened further, and that the Soviet aid envisaged by the cooperation program up to the year 2000 will facilitate the speediest possible rebuilding of Afghanistan, destroyed by war, and the creation of a peaceful situation in it. [end recording]

Kornilov Views Soviet Policy on Afghanistan
LD2109152888 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—TASS political news analyst Yuriy Kornilov writes:

The more time passes since the entry into force of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, the more clearly the different, diametrically opposite stands of the signatory countries manifest themselves.

On the one hand, Afghanistan's and the Soviet Union's principled, consistent policy line is manifest. The line was cogently reaffirmed these days during Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with Afghan Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq in the course of the Soviet-Afghan talks in Moscow. The pivot of the line is strict, complete and accurate fulfilment of the "Geneva package" obligations which open the way for a just settlement of the Afghan problem.

On the other hand—the international public comes to see this with mounting concern again and again—the foes of a settlement, who ensconced themselves first of all in Islamabad, continue to pursue a course towards increasing interference in the internal affairs of sovereign Afghanistan.

According to the foreign press, the Indian one, in particular, there are now more than 130 centres and bases on Pakistani territory for the training of militants from among the Afghan opposition. Tens of "caravans of terror" and convoys with weapons crossed the Pakistani-Afghan border in July alone. The "intransigents", for whom the weapons are intended, continue to resort to acts of terror which are designed to strain the situation and to frustrate the Kabul authorities' policy of national reconciliation.

On Tuesday missiles fired by extremists again hit residential blocks of Kabul. Those in Pakistan who arm extremists and urge them on to new and new acts of vandalism and violence continue to maintain that they are ostensibly faithful to the Geneva accords. Such statements cannot be described otherwise than hypocrisy. As is known, the "Geneva package" also includes a declaration on international guarantees which emphasizes that the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States "undertake to invariably refrain from any form of interference and intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan".

The Soviet Union, as has already been stated, strictly meets its commitments. And what about the United States? Washington has long been regarding Pakistan as its own military and strategic staging area in Asia. Ronald Reagan's message which is reported to have been just sent to the Pakistani president indicates that the U.S. Administration intends to remain on the same positions.

The United States has already spent about 2,000 million dollars for the conduct of the "undeclared war" against Afghanistan. At present expenditures for these purposes grow rather than decrease. The policy of increasing interference in Afghan affairs has been given an appropriate "propaganda support". Matters went to such lengths that the U.S. President himself in the above-mentioned message joined in the completely false campaign which is being stepped up in Pakistan and in the West over alleged "violations" of Pakistani air space by

Afghan aircraft. The quality of the policy of this or that state is now judged by its attitude to the Geneva accords, the more so the policy of those who signed the accords. If this criterion is applied to Islamabad and Washington, one should say straight-forwardly: An unworthy and dangerous game over the Afghan problem is being played in the two capitals. Under these conditions the Soviet Union and Afghanistan reserve the right to take coordinated measures which would be dicated by the developing situation.

Afghan Air Force Chief on 'Bombing' Allegations

PM2209092588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent D. Meshchaninov report: "Aircraft Flying From Pakistan"]

[Text] Kabul—For more than 2 weeks now the mass media of Pakistan and a number of Western countries have been keeping up a ballyhoo over imaginary violations of Pakistani airspace by aircraft of the Afghan Air Force and bombing raids against peaceful population centers. Our correspondent asked Lieutenant General 'Abdul Qader, commander in chief of the Air Force and Air Defense Forces of the Republic of Afghanistan, to express his opinion of the latest splurge of anti-Afghan propaganda.

"The first propaganda 'canard' flew from Pakistani territory on 1 September, when the authorities there announced the bombing of several Pakistani population centers by Afghan combat aircraft. True, for some reason official statements and the press named totally different targets of 'bombing raids.' Moreover, when an inspection group arrived on the spot, it turned out that the only person to have 'perished' had been hurriedly buried, while the imaginary wounded had already managed to discharge themselves from the hospital and had disappeared in an unknown direction. It was a crudely devised provocation. Nevertheless, the anti-Afghan propaganda machine continued to gather momentum and dished out new helpings of lies almost daily. There were reports, for example, of 'bombing raids' on a number of villages and cities in Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province, of a Pakistani Air Force patrol repulsing 'a new attempt by two Afghan fighter-bombers to enter the country's airspace,' of 'an Afghan combat aircraft shot down 7 September' over Pakistani territory, and so forth.

"Not one Afghan combat aircraft has ever been ordered to violate Pakistani airspace, still less to bomb peaceful villages where our Pushtun brothers live," 'A. Qader declared. "The truth is that it is not Afghan but Pakistani military aircraft that regularly violate the Republic of Afghanistan's airspace. The number of these violations increased significantly after January 1987, when the policy of national reconciliation was announced. There are more than enough examples and proof of this.

"An Afghan transport aircraft with 32 peaceful passengers on board was downed in the Khowst region in February of last year. In March of the same year two Pakistani fighters downed an AN-26 with 40 people on board, including women and children, over the Chamkani District. In April a Pakistani F-16 fighter-bomber hit with a British Sidewinder antiaircraft missile an Afghan Air Force aircraft making a patrol flight along the Afghan-Pakistani border.

"In all, during 1987 the Pakistani Air Force destroyed two of our transport aircraft, four transport helicopters, and two combat aircraft. The Pakistanis violated Afghan airspace 38 times. This year 12 violations of the Republic of Afghanistan's airspace have already been recorded. We have more than once invited Western journalists to the site of tragedies that have occurred. They had an opportunity to talk with people, see with their own eyes the remains of passengers and aircraft, film it all, and record in their notebooks the testimonies of eyewitnesses and irrefutable facts.

"These facts attest," Lt Gen 'Abdul Qader said in conclusion, "that it is precisely aircraft of the Pakistani Air Force that have violated and are continuing to grossly violate the Republic of Afghanistan's airspace. The noisy anti-Afghan propaganda campaign is designed to camouflage the Pakistani authorities' criminal policy and their reluctance to help to ease tension at the very heart of Asia. The continuing provocations and the overt campaign of lies do not contribute to the speediest ending of the bloodshed on Afghan soil or the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan."

Afghan 'White Book' Lists Rebel Atrocities

LD2109203488 Moscow TASS in English 2017 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 22 TASS—The terrorism of the armed gangs of the Afghan opposition is spearheaded in the first place against innocent people in Afghanistan. This is convincingly confirmed by facts cited in the "White Book" on the "implementation of the Geneva accords in the interests of all mankind", released by the Afghan Foreign Ministry.

Besides a detailed list of bloody crimes perpetrated by the "irreconcilables" in 1987-1988, the book contains photographs of the victims of terrorist acts and different explosive devices used by the dushmans, including the "trap-mines" placed inside dolls, toy cars and ball-pens.

In trying to obstruct the policy—which is gathering momentum—of national reconciliation, which aims at restoring peace in the country on the basis of compromise and cooperation, the opposition lately is increasingly resorting to terror innocent people.

Over 450 dead and over 300 wounded—these are the bloody statistics of the crimes committed over the last two years, as listed in the "White Book". This is a list of

murdered government, public and religious figures who supported national reconciliation, unheard-of atrocities against peasants who were bold enough to cooperate with the authorities, the firing of missiles at residential areas in Afghan cities, the destruction of civil aircraft with passengers aboard, by surface-to-air missiles.

According to data supplied by the Afghan Government, of late there has been a sharp increase in dushman attacks on Afghan refugees returning from Pakistan, whom they forcibly prevent from entering their country. And although over 150 thousand refugees have returned home since the declaration of the policy of national reconciliation by the Afghan Government, many of those who still remain in Pakistan cannot muster enough courage to make this move fearing vengeance from the "irreconcilables".

Secret Arms Caches Discovered Near Kabul
LD2009215588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 20 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Afghan and Soviet military subunits have discovered and destroyed in the immediate vicinity of Kabul a large number of secret caches of arms and munitions. Our correspondent Mikhail Leshchinskiy reports from the scene:

[Leshchinskiy] The last time we were on this road was during the second half of May, when our troops were on their way home to the motherland from where they were stationed in the Afghan province of Paktia, on the Pakistani border. Unfortunately now, 4 months later, the situation there has become much more difficult. [video shows houses, many ruined, on side of road, plowed fields, mountain ranges, weapons stacked on ground] The forces of the armed opposition are continuing their attempts to seize power in the province; caravans of weapons and detachments of specially trained fighters pass through the province from Pakistani territory. Furthermore, the wave of events ocurring there are being felt as far as here, in the environs of Kabul. Attacks are made on convoys carrying civilian cargoes, sabotage is carried out on electricity power lines, and local inhabitants suffer from gunfire attacks. And right here, within the so-called security zone surrounding the Afghan capital, an attempt was made to create a whole network of secret arsenals containing weapons and munitions.

This is an example, one of the latest, so to speak. [video shows Leshchinskiy next to box of munitions] These are U.S.-manufactured mines, and they were delivered here quite recently from Pakistan—as you see, the sheet of instructions, written in English, hasn't even started to turn yellow. The competent Afghan authorities have given us the figure: since 15 May, the day the Soviet troop withdrawal began, a total of 52 convoys carrying arms and munitions has been sent across the border; over the very same period, 18,000 specially trained fighters have been transferred into Afghanistan. [video shows troops unwrapping weapons, stacking them in piles on the ground] The operation to reveal caches of these weapons, which are of various origins and for various purposes, was carried out by units of the Afghan Armed Forces, with the support of Soviet units, which are, for the time being, continuing to ensure the security of Kabul, and also of our units that are still there. These measures were dictated by the situation that has emerged. In August alone, the opposition forces subjected the city to rocket fire 15 times.

[Begin Colonel A.A. Kosinskiy recording] Up to today, a total of 14 caches have been uncovered, in which 724 rockets, 132 antitank mines, and 280 anti-infantry mines were stockpiled, in addition to a considerable quantity of rifle weaponry, including large-caliber weapons, two mountain antiaircraft installations, five mortars, four Degtyarev-Shpagin large-caliber antiaircraft machine-guns, six handheld antitank grenade throwers, and a great deal more, which you can see before you today. [end recording]

Reports of Rebel Victory in Qandahar Rejected
LD2109191489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Report from Kabul by correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando]

[Text] I think that it would be no exaggeration to say that lately, Afghanistan has been a primary focus of worldwide media attention. Journalists from various countries representing numerous newspapers, journals, press agencies, and radio and television companies visit frequently. They are always granted the necessary conditions to objectively appraise the progress in implementing the policy of national reconciliation and the Geneva agreements.

Unfortunately, when covering events in Afghanistan, Western radio stations as a rule refer not to their own correspondents, but to a few informed—as they say—sources, close to the Afghan mujahidin. Using these very sources, the radio station Voice of America, for example, on 12 September reported that one of the major provinces of Afghanistan, Qandahar, had been for all intents and purposes seized by the mujahidin, and that government troops are holding on to only two towns and the airport region within a 5 km radius.

This report caused me great surprise, since a few days ago I myself paid a visit to this province and saw the true state of affairs. All the same, after hearing the Voice of America report, I, together with a correspondent of the newspaper HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR decided to telephone the governor-general of Qandahar Province, Nurul Haq Ulumi.

In response to our question about the current situation in the province, he replied that the situation is indeed a difficult one. It has been brought about by the fact that the extremists have significantly increased pressure on our province, seeking to seize it. The provincial center is frequently subjected to bombardment from long-range artillery. But what is surprising, continued Nurul Haq Ulumi, is the fact that such barbaric actions of the so-called fighters for the faith, meet with the support of their sponsors across the ocean, and also of Arab and Pakistani advisers, who, together with the bands of extremists, illegally penetrate the territory of Afghanistan.

Thus, recently, during a combat operation in the region of Spin Buldak two Arab advisers named Abu Zuhayr and Abu Yusuf were killed, as were a few young Pakistani boys. This is a specific example of the activity of foreign advisers among the ranks of the irreconcilable Afghan opposition.

As far as the plans of the extremists with respect to the seizure of Qandahar is concerned, they will never be fulfilled. The armed forces of the country, with the active assistance of the local population, are capable of defending their province and its ancient center, where the ashes the founder of of the Afghan state, Ahmad Shah, rest, said Nurul Haq Ulumi in conclusion.

Observer Assesses Near East Settlement Prospects
PM2009113988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
18 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Konstantin Geyvandov under the rubric "Political Observer's Opinion": "Near East: Rectifying Injustice"]

[Text] The Palestinian uprising, now in its 10th month, on the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza Strip has illuminated in the best way possible the new realities that have emerged in this region of the Near East in recent decades. The step taken by the Jordanian leadership, which announced that it was severing its administrative and legal ties with Jordan's West Bank, was a logical one against this background, inasmuch as it was intended to help some people rid themselves of persisting illusions and to remind others of their historical responsibility.

First, King Husayn's decision disappointed those who were counting on the "Jordanian version" of a settlement of the Palestinian problem, and indicated the true addressees with whom it is essential to deal in talks on this question, that is, the Palestinians. Second, it opened up for the PLO the status of sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, a status that was confirmed at the recent pan-Arab summit meeting in Algiers, and it presented the opportunity for an entire series of political and diplomatic initiatives with the aim of implementing the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

I would like to think that the PLO is utilizing the situation that has emerged for the benefit of its own people. In particular, on its initiative an extraordinary session of the Palestine National Council [PNC] is planned for October at which it is proposed to discuss ways and means of restoring the national rights of the Palestinian Arabs. Among the latter the possibility is being discussed of proclaiming an independent Palestinian state and creating a government in exile. In this event, what do they have in mind?

Above all, they have in mind a return to UN Resolution 181 of 1947 on the division of Palestine, which was also the legal basis for the emergence of the State of Israel. But this resolution envisaged the creation of two states via the division of Palestine—Jewish and Arab. And territory of the corresponding dimensions was defined for each of them. The second half of this UN resolution has not as yet been fulfilled, and it must be admitted that certain Arab states are by no means the least to blame. So it is assumed that if, in implementation of the Palestinians' right to self-determination, the PLO were now to proclaim the creation of an independent Arab state on the basis of Resolution 181, this would rectify an injustice perpetrated more than 40 years ago. Moreover, the PLO's recognition of Resolution 181 will initiate the implementation of international legality in the Arab-Israeli conflict...

In my view, this development of events would greatly ease progress toward an all-embracing and just Near East settlement at an international conference convened under UN aegis. In any case it would eliminate certain "lacunae" and would make negotiations more specific. But another question arises here: How realistic is the Palestinians' adoption of these, dare I say, historic decisions at the planned PNC session?

Knowing as I do about the differences and contradictions that exist to this day in the Palestinian resistance movement, I believe that the answer to this question depends on whether its different factions will succeed in overcoming them in the time that is left and formulating a common denominator. Obviously, one such must be the opportunity to implement the right to self-determination. Nonetheless, it is being claimed that the PNC can take the first step at its October session by appealing to the United Nations to place the Israeli-occupied Palestinian Arab lands under international trusteeship for a transitional period. This, in particular, is indicated by a statement made in Nicosia a few days ago by F. Qaddumi, chief of the PLO Political Department.

The new political and diplomatic opportunities for a just Near East settlement are provoking extreme concern among Israelis who have blocked this for decades and are continuing to block it. And there is no guarantee that they will not try to create new "faits accomplis" with the aid of the usual military adventures. Israeli Defense Minister Rabin, for example, is already warning about "the growing risk of war" in the region. In his opinion,

the reasons for this are "the cessation of the Iraq-Iran conflict, an increase in tension in Israel's relations with neighboring Arab states (excluding Egypt), the development by the Arabs of their own armaments, particularly surface-to-surface missiles, and the sentiments predominating inside the terrorist organizations." This last assertion by Rabin refers precisely to the PLO and its activity.

The Western news media claim that Y. 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, is now saying to his guests that he is hoping for the speedy onset of a happy ending to the Palestinians' 40-year ordeal. Well, if the present tendency toward the political settlement of regional conflicts is taken into account, then it must be said that this kind of optimism is not without foundation. I will add to this only that, among other things, the "happy ending" depends greatly both on the leaders of the Palestinian resistance movement and on the leaders of the Arab states.

Demchenko Views Aims of Palestinian Uprising

PM2009152188 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 17 Sep 88 p 3

[Article by political observer Pavel Demchenko under the "Look at Events" rubric: "Palestinian Uprising"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] It was 9 months ago that stormy mass demonstrations such as had never occurred before began on the occupied territories. Initially it seemed that they had erupted spontaneously, but it soon became clear that was not the case. [passage omitted]

The aim of the struggle is to put an end to the occupation, to create on the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip an independent state based on the 1947 UN resolution on the partitioning of Palestine. Consequently the insurgents are not demanding the abolition of Israel but want to achieve political self determination for the Arab people of Palestine.

Who is leading them?

The PLO, which operates through the united national leadership of the uprising. To all appearances it has two centers: one on the occupied lands (Western journalists cite a specific place—East Jerusalem) and the other abroad. In addition local committees with a large share of autonomy have been created in all cities and many villages. Thanks to this decentralization, for the 10th month now an entirely precise plan is being successfully implemented: giving the occupiers no peace for a single day, wearing them down, depriving them of the confidence in their ability to use force to quell the Palestinians, to organize demonstrations now in one region, now in another without stopping in the face of any repressions. And, moreover, not succumbing to the enemy's acts of provocation and not using weapons.

Now, 9 months after the start of the "intifadah," it may be asserted with complete justification that it has again highlighted the Palestinian problem as the core of the Near East crisis and the urgent need to resolve both this problem and the crisis as a whole. Among the insurgents now there is a widespread opinion that it is time to back up the success achieved with a specific decision: to proclaim the independence of Arab Palestine by a unilateral act and to create a government in exile or provisional government. It will become the official defender of its citizens and Israel will then have to deal with it willy-nilly.

The official Israeli position on the events unfortunately reflects that country's traditional predatory course. Prime Minister Shamir called the idea of Palestinian independence "an empty undertaking," ruling out the possibility of any talks with PLO representatives. Parliamentary elections are scheduled for 1 November in Israel and many party leaders are now literally vying with each other in their anti-Palestinian statements. Some are demanding that the repressions be stepped up, that all Palestinian committees be broken up, others are going even further, insisting on driving 200,000-300,000 people abroad from the occupied lands in order to stifle the uprising. The statements of the "moderate" politicians, and there are many of them in Israel now, are literally drowning in this chorus, but it is only the Communists who consistently side with the Palestinian cause.

The protracted nature of the Near East crisis and the complexity of the Palestinian problem have generated among a certain section of the Western public a pessimistic view of the possibility of their rapid solution. It is said that the matter has reached an impasse with no way out in sight. But did the Iran-Iraq conflict and the Cambodian, Afghan, and South African problems not look like that only recently? But they got the machinery of a settlement successfully moving there. This is a difficult but perfectly feasible matter were the political will and the desire to consider both sides' interests to be manifested.

In the Soviet Government's opinion such a settlement is also possible in the Near East if the Israeli troops withdraw from the lands occupied since 1967 and all states of the region—both the Arab states and Israel—are given guarantees of security. Of course, the Palestinians should receive the right to a political settlement, the right to decide and to determine their future for themselves because this is an international problem and it must be resolved together, with the aid of an international conference with the participation of all interested sides. I want to think that the improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations and the overall easing of the political situation in the world will facilitate the solution of this task.

PFLP Official Views UN Role, Soviet Talks

JN2009194188 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 19 Sep 88 pp 1, 30

[From Salam Musafir in Moscow]

[Text] PFLP Secretary General George Habash has described the option of placing the occupied Palestinian territory under temporary UN supervision as one on which he is not placing any big bets.

Answering a question from AL-ANBA' on how realistic such an option is in the present international situation and on the UN role in this issue, Habash said: There is, however, an oportunity now represented by the new UN General Assembly's discussing the continuation of Israel's deportation policy since the beginning of the uprising and the international consternation caused by this policy.

Habash added: Perhaps we will have a chance to confront the U.S. Administration with its responsibilities in front of the world and expose its fake claims. However, if this session ends without issuing this cherished resolution, we must think of all the options that constitute a response to the Jordanian move.

Habash said: We do not in principle completely reject the idea of a state or government, provided this state is based on the Palestinian people's rights and the UN resolutions stipulating the right to self-determination, and provided such a government does not offer concessions in its programs or hide the PLO role—a nationalist government with a clear and well-defined political identity, a government that does not contradict the PLO Charter and rules, a government that includes all the Palestinian revolutionary factions.

Dr Habash noted that the PFLP reservations on the state and government are based on the fact that certain Palestinian forces are working to push this approach in the direction of conceding to the demands that the United States usually asks us to offer. He said that the United States wants us to abandon our struggle, which it calls terrorism. It wants us to accept only Resolution 242, and when Brother Yasir 'Arafat says he recognizes all of the UN resolutions, they ignore him. They want him to recognize only Resolution 242, which considers the Palestinian problem a refugee problem.

Habash added: Before an international conference is convened, they want us not only to recognize Israel but to concede its right to exist as it is at present. In other words, they want us to enter the international conference completely stripped, naked. He said: Undoubtedly, no wise leadership would offer these free concessions. We also have reservations on the formation of a state and government because we want the Palestinian arena inside and outside the occupied territories to remain united and because the option of placing the occupied territory under temporary UN auspices enjoys everybody's support, including the Arab states.

The Palestinian official noted that during his talks with the Soviet side, he found that the Soviet Union is trying to weigh the pro's and con's of each option. The Soviets also propose a possible reconciliation or merger of options while affirming the importance of a unified Palestinian and Arab position.

It is noteworthy that the PFLP delegation led by Dr George Habash and comprising PFLP Political Bureau members Abu 'Ali Mustafa [Mustafa al-Zibri] and Abu Mahir [Ahmad] al-Yamani met with Polyakov, chief of the Middle Eastern and North African Countries Administration at the USSR Foreign Ministry, and officials in the CPSU International Department. It should be noted that the Soviet Union has so far not issued any clear statements on the current Palestinian options.

Unilateral Indian Cease-Fire on Sri Lanka Hailed

BK2009102688 Moscow International Service in Tamil 1400 GMT 19 Sep 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] A statement has been released in Colombo on behalf of the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] High Command, hailing the 5-day unilateral cease-fire by India, which comes into effect on Thursday [16 September]. Other social organizations in Sri Lanka have also welcomed this unilateral cease-fire by India. Particularly, the TULF [Tamil United Liberation Front] Secretary General Amirthalingam has said, we hope that the Tamil militants will utilize this opportunity and will seek a political solution to the problems. The Sri Lankan minister for rural industrial development, Thondaman, has said that the Indo-Sri Lankan accord for finding a solution to the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka is a very important one.

Several major political parties in India have also supported this unilateral cease-fire announced by India. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India has appreciated all the political parties, which took efforts to normalize the situation in Sri Lanka. It has also pointed out that a good time has dawned on the people of Sri Lanka now to get the problems settled and live happily. The new political thinking in India and Sri Lanka has paved the way for doing this good act.

A few days before the announcement of this unilateral cease-fire, President Junius Jayewardene issued a proclamation about merging the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Sri Lanka. In these provinces, Tamils live as a majority. They have been urging for a merger of these two provinces.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, published from Calcutta, says now only Delhi and Colombo are marching on their own way. Now, the Liberation Tigers only have to act well. The Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, J.N. Dixit, announced that the unilateral cease-fire may be further extended, if the Liberation Tigers support this truce. He also urged them to lay down their weapons.

Sub-Saharan Africa

IZVESTIYA Reports on Chissano-Botha Talks

PM2209090088 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent B. Pilyatskin report: "Sensation or Inevitability?"]

[Text] Maputo—Mozambique's first president, Samora Machel, once observed: "You can choose a friend, but not a geographical neighbor. That is what the Republic of South Africa is for us, and our country has no choice but to coexist with it."

Alas, coexistence between the superpower of the African Continent and the young republic weakened by the colonial past and internal problems took on the nature of a conflict, a confrontation. And the mighty neighbor resorted not only to economic and political pressure, but also to strong-arm tactics—from bombings of the outskirts of Maputo to raids by commando detachments there.

Not much changed as a result of the nonaggression treaty signed on the Nkomati, the border stream, in March 1984, in which the sides pledged to refrain from any hostile actions or interference in each other's affairs. Suffice it to say that the activity of the "Mozambique National Resistance" (MNR) terrorist gangs, who found a new patron in the shape of South Africa after the fall of the Rhodesian regime, has by no means declined.

But now I see on the television screen South African President Pieter Botha and Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano smiling, shaking hands, and exchanging souvenirs after the completion of talks in Songo, a small town near the Cabora Bassa hydroelectric power station on the Zambezi River.

Some Western news media described P. Botha's first visit to this African country as head of state as "sensational." But for those who carefully monitor events in the region, what happened came as no surprise. Things were moving that way, and precisely this turn of events was dictated by the positive changes that have begun in the world.

Naturally, Africa has not remained aloof from the global process of detente, as is indicated first and foremost by the developments in the resolution of the Namibian problem. This is the context in which to see the peace initiative by Mozambique President J. Chissano, who proposed dialogue, instead of confrontation, to his South African partner.

The Mozambique leadership is clearly aware of the realities of the country's economic position. And that leaves the republic no alternative today but to make the maximum use of the economic ties and infrastructure that it inherited from the past. In 1974—the last year in the country's colonial history—6 million tonnes of South African freight passed through the port of Maputo in transit, while 10 years later the figure was less than 1 million. According to the latest figures more than 73,000 Mozambicans are registered in South Africa as workers hired under contract (the vast majority in the mines). In addition to this there are a quarter of a million so-called "illegals"—those who have gone to South Africa in search of work and food and to escape the MNR gangs. Money transfers to Mozambique from officially registered workers total more than $40 million a year.

That is the income. What about the losses resulting from many years of undeclared war, economic sanctions by Pretoria, and attacks by it? Civilians killed, roads destroyed, enterprises idle, crops burned—the list is endless. Let me cite just a few figures published by the National Executive Commission that was set up in connection with the emergency: In Mozambique there are 5.9 million displaced persons in need of urgent assistance, having lost their property and homes; more than 2,000 schools and hundreds of medical centers and rural stores have been destroyed. The total damage sustained by the country, according to the Mozambique press, amounts to the astronomical sum of $5.5 billion.

Mozambique's human and material losses are clearly vast. But South Africa has not achieved the goal it set itself. The maintenance and supply of the 20,000 MNR troops cosntantly require money, while "victory over the Marxist Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] government" is still no closer. Finally, in purely financial terms, it is advantageous to South Africa to use Mozambique's territory and the port of Maputo for transporting its freight.

All this put together made the Pretoria ruling clique respond to the proposals from Maputo for a revival of the "Nkomati treaty."

Apart from anything else, I think P. Botha also had hopes in connection with the municipal elections scheduled for the end of October. The fact is that the ruling Nationalist Party is in the throes of a deep crisis. The growing antiracist movement in the country and the exacerbation of economic problems have caused an unprecedented polarization in the white community: On the right flank fascist elements accuse the president of "betraying the Afrikaaner cause," while on the left sober-minded people advocate talks with the African National Congress.

Under these conditions an experienced, pragmatic politician like P. Botha has gambled on lessening tension with his neighbors, hoping that this will help to strengthen the ruling party's positions.

The most important thing achieved after the two presidents' meeting in Songo was a guarantee given by South Africa that it will not support the MNR. According to a report by the news agency AIM, that is what J. Chissano said in answer to journalists' questions. True, P. Botha, for his part, declined to confirm these words directly, but he did not refute them. The Mozambique president again stressed at the talks that the apartheid system remains the main obstacle to the establishment of trust and free contacts among countries of the region. Clearly the subject is not closed, but as for practical actions, as the Mozambique newspaper NOTICIAS writes, an accord was reached on setting up several commissions to discuss specific areas of cooperation in the sphere of transport, trade, the utilization of manpower, and so forth.

But the main subject of the talks on economic cooperation, judging by the commentaries published, was the problem of Africa's biggest hydroelectric power station—Cabora Bassa, which has been idle since February 1983 because of MNR sabotage. The station should start working in 1990, and the Mozambique press expresses satisfaction in this connection.

After all the worries and disappointments, it would be good to believe at last that the period of confrontation and tension in this part of Africa is receding into the past and that the hopes of peace and stability that were disappointed in the past through Pretoria's fault will this time become a reality.

East Europe

More on Solomentsev 20 Sep Bucharest Activities

PM2109140788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Delegation's Stay"]

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Sep—The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee delegation headed by M.S. Solomentsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, which is here at the invitation of the RCP Central Committee, today visited the "IMGB" Enterprise, one of the largest plants in the Romanian capital and the flagship of Romanian machine building, and the Bucharest Complex Machine Tool and Unit Plant—Romania's leading machine tool building enterprise. At both enterprises the Soviet guests familiarized themselves with the work of shops and technological units equipped with modern equipment.

Meetings and talks were held with representatives of working people's councils. M.S. Solomentsev talked about the restructuring processes taking place in the Soviet Union in all spheres of activity and in labor collectives and noted the importance of the further expansion and deepening of mutually advantageous Soviet-Romanian cooperation, collaboration between the CPSU and the RCP, and the traditional friendship between the Soviet and Romanian peoples.

During the afternoon the delegation visited the "Fundulya" [name as published] Central Grain and Industrial Crop Scientific Research Institute, where it familiarized itself with methods of intensifying agricultural production based on the use of high-yield varieties and hybrids.

The same day the Soviet guests laid wreaths at the V.I. Lenin Monument and the monument to the Soviet servicemen who perished in the battles to free Romania from fascism.

Paper Reports Zaykov, Delegation Bulgaria Visit

PM2109142188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
16 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Visit Continues. L.N. Zaykov in Bulgaria"]

[Text] Plovdiv, 15 Sep—L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, who is on a working visit to Bulgaria, has continued his tour of the country. He is accompanied by G. Filipov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and V.V. Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria.

He familiarized himself with one of Bulgaria's biggest municipalities, centered on the city of Pazardzhik. Its contribution to the country's economy is substantial. It produces a variety of machine building, electronic, metallurgical, and chemical products. It is an area of highly developed agriculture.

There was a frank and comradely discussion at the BCP municipal committee of the activity of party, state, and economic bodies in restructuring conditions. It was stressed that the fundamental coincidence of aims and tasks in the renewal of society opens up new opportunities for the organization of Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation at all levels. Direct links between labor collectives should be the key component.

The "Bolgarsovovoshch" joint Soviet-Bulgarian association, situated on the territory of the municipality, was set up to pool the two countries' potentials in tackling an important aspect of the food problem. During the familiarization with its activity it transpired that the promising new form of international cooperation is finding it hard to make headway at the moment. For some years the joint

association's work has been inhibited by a lack of coordination and inefficiency on the part of the USSR Gosagroprom and a number of other central departments.

Obstacles must be resolutely removed. It is necessary to eliminate red tape in this important matter. Specific ways were determined to step up the work of the association, which is to carry out the task of supplying Muscovites with 19,000-25,000 tonnes of vegetables in the fall-winter period. They will be delivered to the Soviet capital by special semitrailer convoys. The vegetables will be delivered straight to the stores, bypassing the warehouses, which will maintain high quality.

A memorial has been erected on one of the peaks of the Balkan Mountains—Buzludzha. It recreates the history of the Bulgarian Communist Party. It was here, in 1891, under the leadership of D. Blagoyev, that the inaugural congress of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party was held, laying the foundation for the organized revolutionary movement in the country. The Soviet guest familiarized himself with the exhibits in the BCP museum.

Shipka is a symbol of the indestructible friendship between our countries' peoples. The CPSU Central Committee secretary laid flowers in the church that is a memorial to Russian troops who died liberating Bulgaria.

On the way to Gabrovo there was a visit to the "Etyr" ethnographical complex which recreates the art of ancient Bulgarian craftsmen.

Last year the "Emko" science and production association was founded in Gabrovo, comprising the local "Mekhatronika" combine and the Moscow "Nauchnyy Tsentr" association. Its purpose is to produce equipment for the microelectronics industry. Today L.N. Zaykov visited its shops.

The familiarization with the Soviet-Bulgarian science and production association's products and developments made it clear that a promising way of joining forces in a priority area of scientific and technical progress has been found and is gathering momentum. According to preliminary calculations, joint output will total around R50 million by 1990. Joint work within the framework of the science and production association is a fine cooperation experience. The workers and specialists with whom the CPSU Central Committee secretary talked gave an account of the preparations for the switch to a new stage of collaboration with the Soviet partners—the creation of a joint Soviet-Bulgarian enterprise. Combining science and production with a developed technological base will make it possible to increase the contribution to the implementation of the CEMA countries' comprehensive "computerization" program of scientific-technical progress.

L.N. Zaykov said that the Soviet side will give effective backing to this process. The initiative of the labor collectives themselves is particularly important to the development and deepening of integration.

On the same day the Soviet guest arrived in Varna.

Slyunkov Receives Poland's Baka 20 Sep

PM2109140388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Talk at the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] N.N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had talks at the CPSU Central Committee 20 September with W. Baka, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

During the talk the similarity of CPSU and PZPR approaches to resolving the socioeconomic problems facing the country was stated and it was noted that the implementation of restructuring in the USSR and the policy of socialist renewal in Poland create conditions for the further development of Soviet-Polish cooperation and its enhancement to a qualitatively new level. Questions of the closer coordination of the two countries' economic policies, the improvement of the cooperation mechanism, the active introduction of progressive new forms of cooperation in the interests of developing intrasectorial specialization and production sharing, and the consistent pooling of efforts in the sphere of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress were discussed.

N.N. Slyunkov talked about the progress of the economic reform in the USSR and the work being done to fulfill the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum.

W. Baka gave information about the measures being taken by the PZPR to stabilize the socioeconomic situation and consistently implement the goals of the second stage of economic reform in Poland.

Taking part in the talk, which was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, was J. Smolinski, Polish charge d'affaires in the USSR.

Polish Government Resignation Discussed

PM2109150188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS correspondent V. Runov report: "Sejm Report on Situation in Country"]

[Text] Warsaw—Perhaps only in reportage could one convey the heat of the events which unfolded in the Polish Sejm at 0900 on 19 September 1988, your TASS correspondent in Warsaw reports to SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

For over 12 hours deputies discussed the reasons for the fall in the rate of the country's economic development and the decline in the effectiveness of the Polish Government's activity. Essentially the debate began the day before the Sejm session when, following tradition, the representatives of all three political parties—the PZPR, the United Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party—met in their deputies' clubs to discuss tactics.

The well-known journalist Ryszard Wojna, vice chairman of the PZPR deputies' club, gave an interview to journalists while the work of the Sejm was in progress and during which to some degree he divulged certain details of the discussion which are usually not for publication. At its session the club listened with great attention to the premier who is a member of it and who, aware of the gravity of the situation which is unprecedented in the Polish parliament's history, placed on the agenda the question of what stance the PZPR deputies would adopt with regard to the government.

This time the mechanism of party discipline was not used. Each deputy, guided by his own convictions and experience, had the right to vote either for or against the government's resignation. W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, addressed the club session and stated that this stance makes it possible to avoid a clash between party discipline and the opinion of the trade unions, whose members include many Communists who are demanding the government's resignation.

The deputies' clubs also familiarized themselves with the results of the work of the Sejm's extraordinary commission on monitoring the implementation of the economic reform, which was set up on 31 August in connection with the increasing criticism in society of the government's activity. This item was first on the agenda.

The commission expressed the opinion that there must be profound changes in the composition of the government, the inclusion of coalition forces in it, and the broadening of its composition by the inclusion of competent specialists from various sectors of the economy. It is to be hoped, commission chairman K. Jandy-Jendroszka stressed when opening the debate in the Sejm, that this will also be the direction of the roundtable discussions by representatives of all the main political forces that are seeking to reach an accord to overcome the difficulties existing in the country.

Z. Messner, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, speaking afterward, assessed the complex socioeconomic situation in the country and said that social unrest not only intensified the criticism of the government but also revealed the scale of the grave phenomena and showed that there is the possibility of another crisis occurring. The government did not resort to radical measures to end the August strikes because it considered that force could only remove the external manifestations, it could not eliminate the deep-seated causes of the crisis. The source of the conflict is not only the conscious subversive political activity of extremists but also the many painful burdens of everyday life. However, political methods of removing tension must not be equated with toleration of lawlessness. The law cannot be the object of political manipulation.

The Council of Ministers, Messner stated, does not dispute the weaknesses in the economy noted by the Sejm extraordinary commission. The majority of them built up over decades whereas others appeared in all their urgency only last year.

Guided by the supreme interests of the state and the intention of making it easier for the Sejm to take the necessary decisions, Z. Messner announced the Council of Ministers' resignation.

Literally a few minutes after this statement the press box was virtually empty. Western journalists had rushed off to send their reports of the sensation.

But was it a sensation? Even before the result of the vote was known journalists were putting the question of the government's possible resignation to A. Perczynski, the government's deputy press spokesman, who calmed the emotions of the press somewhat. He stated that this is the normal political practice which is the direct result of the process of socialist renewal. The fact that the question of whether the government has managed to cope with its tasks is being examined for the first time is evidence of the development of the process of socialist democratization in Poland, a process which has now risen a step higher.

The Sejm debate went on until late evening with more than 30 speakers.

The government's resignation was accepted by an overwhelming majority of votes with some abstentions. The Council of Ministers has been instructed to carry out its duties until a new government is formed.

Warsaw Correspondent Views Government Resignation
LD2109203288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] [Announcer] Now we will hear another report, a report from Warsaw. The issue of the government's resignation is the subject of extensive discussion and exchanges of views in Poland. Of course, this also attracts our attention. However, let us listen to our correspondent, Vasiliy Lesovik:

[Lesovik] This is the first time in the history of Socialist Poland that a government has resigned. Now, in this unusual state of affairs, many Poles are asking themselves the question: What next? It is, I submit, the main subject of heated discussions and debates today. The conclusion comes down to the words spoken at the Sejm session by Premier Messner: the government is going but the problems remain.

The decision of the Sejm, which accepted the government's resignation, is regarded here as evidence of profound changes in the system of governing the state, as a development in the process of democratizing life. This was stressed yesterday at a sitting of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo.

A decisive development of the processes, the widening of the lines of dialogue leading to the achieving of national agreement, these are the fundamental line of the PZPR. The result of roundtable talks by representatives of official governing and party circles with the so-called constructive opposition will have considerable importance for the development of these processes. This meeting is due to take place in the middle of October. The new cabinet of the Council of Ministers already should have taken up office by this time.

A communique was published today concerning the decision by the Sejm Presidium to convene the usual sitting of this supreme legislative organ of power on 27 September. During the sitting, the candidature of the chairman of the Council of Ministers will be considered and confirmed. The forming of a new government team will be assigned to him. Until that time, the former government members will carry out their duties.

[Announcer] Sooner or later, Poland must solve its problems. I said sooner or later; of course, it would be better to solve all problems earlier.

Further Reportage on Biryukova Visit to CSSR

Meets CPCZ's Janak

LD2109212888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2000 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Slovak Central Committee, had a meeting in Bratislava with Comrade Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is in Czechoslovakia on a working visit.

An exchange of information took place about the practical implementation of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum, and the latest plenums of the CPCZ Central Committee, as well as about the progress of restructuring in both countries.

Visits Clothing Factories

LD2209103788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Sep 88

[From the "Vremya" newcast; S. Andreyev video report on Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova visit to CSSR]

[Excerpts] No specialists, not even the most highly qualified one, is able to cut cloth as quickly, accurately, and especially economically while using each milimeter of cloth. [video shows computerized cloth-cutting machine] Thus, the major sewing enterprise in Prostejov, which was visited by Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova, is saving around Kcs30 million annually. [passage omitted]

In the main square of Partizanske blooms an unusual flower bed—a symbol of this town of shoemakers. The flowers are as bright as during summer. But the glory of the Czechoslovak footwear industry has faded somewhat in recent years. However, for the sake of justice it should be noted that our trade organizations, in their striving to become more and more economical, are far from selecting the best of what is offered by friends. And there are things to offer. This is the kind of shelving shown to Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova. [video shows Biryukova examining footwear, production lines] There are around 2,000 styles of shoes in the room. The conversation immediately turned to design and quality and what is being done to improve it. [passage omitted]

CSSR Defense Minister on Officers' Tasks

PM2109143188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Sep 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Meeting With Young Officers"]

[Text] Prague, 19 Sep—Army General M. Vaclavik, Czechoslovak minister of national defense, has met with graduates of military educational establishments in Prague. He warmly congratulated the young officers on their graduation and wished them successful work in the further enhancement of the combat readiness of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

Irrespective of certain successes in the relaxation of the international situation, the minister stressed, improving combat and political training, reinforcing military discipline, and instilling in servicemen a solicitous attitude to the equipment entrusted to them remain the key tasks facing Czechoslovak People's Army commanders and political officers.

Katushev Meets Hungarian, GDR Trade Ministers

PM2109142988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] A conversation took place on 16 September between K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, and J. Marjai, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, and minister of trade.

On the same day K.F. Katushev met with G. Beil, GDR minister of foreign trade

During the conversations there was a discussion of questions of further deepening and improving the Soviet Union's trade and economic relations with Hungary and the GDR on the basis of progressive forms of cooperation.

West Europe

Shevardnadze Arrives on Working Visit to Denmark

PM2109110588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 Sep 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "On Working Visit"]

[Text] E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, left Moscow for Copenhagen 20 September on a working visit at the invitation of the Danish Government.

At the airport he was seen off by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other officials.

S.B. Madsen [name as published], Danish charge d'affaires ad interim to the USSR, was among the send-off party.

On the same day E.A. Shevardnadze arrived in Copenhagen. At Kastrup airport he was met by Foreign Minister Uffe Elleman-Jensen and other Danish officials. B.N. Pastukhov, USSR ambassador to Denmark, was among the welcoming party.

On his arrival E.A. Shevardnadze made the following statement:

"We have arrived in Denmark to continue the Soviet-Danish dialogue, a new stage in which was initiated by the talks between M.S. Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders and Prime Minister P. Schluter during the latter's official visit to the Soviet Union in October 1986.

"This dialogue is developing in the context of the tradition of good-neighborliness and cooperation between our countries, which is 5 centuries old and based on mutual respect and good feelings for each other.

"History has made us neighbors while modern times have laid down boundaries. We do not have Andersen's magic tinderbox with which we could eliminate them. But we do have the will and the desire to lower the barriers. We have a clear understanding of the obvious fact that dialogue should drive out confrontation and differences should not impede the search for agreement and the revelation of what we have in common. Only with this approach can our peoples' main wish be implemented: That peace should be reliable, security unshakable, and the future secure.

"We live on the same continent and that means that we are equally interested in the success of the all-European process, the solution of the problem of reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, the consolidation of confidence-building measures, and the limitation of naval activity in the North and in the Arctic.

"We live in the same interconnected world and that means that we are equally perturbed by its worries, that we are seeking to find ways to strengthen universal security, to eliminate nuclear and chemical weapons, to reduce the level of military antagonism, and to make joint efforts to save the world from ecological catastrophe.

"Finally, as neighbors we have something to say to each other about the development of trade and economic, humanitarian, and cultural cooperation, whose level can and must correspond to the level of our political contacts.

"I will talk about all this with my counterpart Mr Elleman-Jensen and other Danish statesmen. From our previous meetings I have formed the impression that we can talk without bypassing the sharp corners but in a pleasant tone and with constructive content.

"I want to take this opportunity to convey to the inhabitants of Copenhagen and all Danish citizens wishes for peace, happiness, and prosperity."

A meeting of the ministers was held today at which a general survey of the world situation was made, assessments of the state of bilateral relations were voiced, and several practical questions were touched on.

In the evening U. Elleman-Jensen gave a dinner in E.A. Shevardnadze's honor on behalf of the Danish Government.

Welcoming the eminent Soviet guest, the minister said in particular:

"It is a great honor and pleasure for me on behalf of the Danish Government to cordially welcome you, Mr Minister, and you, Mrs Shevardnadze, to Denmark. It is all too rarely that USSR foreign ministers visit Denmark. That is why we link great hopes with this visit and count on it enabling us to exchange views on a broad range of very important questions of mutual interest. The talks which have begun between us give me grounds for hoping that dialogue between our countries will also be activated at this level. Our countries will soon celebrate the 500th anniversary of the establishment of official treaty relations. Their further development at the end of the present millenium is at least as important as their establishment in the middle of the millenium.

"Like the whole world, we are following with tremendous interest developments in the USSR in recent years. We are convinced that the new course of reforms will benefit the Soviet Union on both the domestic and the foreign planes. And we wish the Soviet Union successes in this process which, as we know, is very complex. We also wish you successes because we hope that the processes taking place in your country will also benefit us. The awareness that the modern world is to a supreme degree a single entity and that no single state can act

solely on the basis of its own interests or its own wishes for how the world should be structured is a guarantee of the positive development of international relations.

"The new thinking in Soviet foreign policy, in our opinion, opens up opportunities for more constructive approaches toward the problems of this world. We hope to witness the new thinking finding expression in an increasing number of specific steps.

"As for the sphere of bilateral economic relations, we expect the new policy in the Soviet Union to impart new acceleration to the development of trade and economic ties between our countries. In recent years Danish-Soviet trade has not been developing as favorably as we expected. We understand the Soviet Union's problems in this field, but at the same time we hope that our Soviet partners understand that the expansion of mutual trade requires that it be advantageous to both sides.

"In this connection I would like to express my satisfaction at the fact that official relations have finally been successfully established between the EEC and CEMA. These ties, and particularly the establishment of relations between the EEC and individual CEMA countries, will promote the growth of trade and the development of economic cooperation, including between Denmark and the Soviet Union.

"But these ties also have a different, European dimension. It is a component of Danish political thinking. This was confirmed in the results of two referendums. In addition the threads that have linked us for centuries with our brothers in other northern countries are stronger than ever.

"We in Denmark view contacts between individual citizens—communication between people—as a very important prerequisite for the creation of an atmosphere of mutual understanding between states and peoples. We have recently been able to observe a growing number of direct contacts between Danish and Soviet citizens developing alongside official channels. We welcome this trend and wish for its consolidation, whether it is a case of setting up ties among representatives of the creative intelligentsia, sportsmen, or simply people who out of curiosity are seeking to go beyond the boundaries of their own country to have a better knowledge of the life of other peoples. It is important that neither bureaucratic barriers nor obsolete rules should delay the expansion of these contacts. And it is particularly important that it should be possible to move freely from room to room in the European house.

"Allow me to put forward one absolutely specific, albeit very modest proposal. The West European states together with individual East European countries have established a procedure for railroads which gives our young people the opportunity to travel to communicate with their contemporaries in other countries.

"I would like to urge the Soviet Union to join in this undertaking—the transport system across borders—and thus open up its borders so that our young people can travel freely around the USSR. At the same time young Soviet people will be able to travel here and get to know our young people and culture.

"I have a wonderful picture of our young people sitting in a cafe in Kiev, Kazan, or Copenhagen, discussing how they will build life in Europe when their turn comes. Let them have the opportunity to exchange their own ideas on the all-European house in which it is possible to move freely from room to room.

"On a more significant and principled plane more importance attaches to human dimensions like contacts between people and respect for human rights, especially at the talks in Vienna within the CSCE framework. I am sure that we will soon be able to complete the Vienna meeting if the necessary political will and flexibility are displayed. I am also convinced that this question will continue to occupy a central place in international politics.

"To strengthen the dialogue that has already been given new headway is essential and above all on precisely this point. We hope that in 1990 a specific contribution to this process will be made in Copenhagen.

"Mr Minister, we are now living in a period when the picture of the world as regards its security looks more optimistic than it has for a long time. In addition to our mounting hope for the solution of a number of regional conflicts, the improving relations between the superpowers are of course a particular source of satisfaction. The dialogue that is developing now between them has given rise to optimism throughout the world and we on the Danish side can only encourage it and call for it to be continued.

"The conclusion of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is the first worthy achievement in improving relations between the USSR and the United States that we are witnessing.

"We link our hopes with the hope that the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles will be supplemented by agreements on the reduction of strategic arms, the elimination of chemical weapons, and the reduction of conventional armaments at the same time as the expansion of international mutual understanding which is promoted in particular by your official visit to Denmark."

Concluding his speech, U. Elleman-Jensen expressed the conviction that despite differences in social systems it is possible to meet and to promote, through meetings, the overcoming of the prejudices and suspicions that have characterized international relations for many years.

In his reply speech E.A. Shevardnadze said:

"We have come to Denmark with a feeling of sincere friendship for its people and the Danes are responding in kind.

"We have come to your country with the intention of frankly discussing many problems and you, Mr Minister, and your colleagues are responding to us with the same frankness.

"At a time when dialogue is increasingly driving out grim confrontation, friendliness, the absence of prejudice, and directness acquire a special worth. The exchange rate of these values in the world today is growing and we are glad that we are maintaining it together.

"Allow me to thank you for your kind words about our country.

"It will be easy for me to reply because we have behind us 5 centuries of peaceful relations. Our peoples have never resorted to weapons against each other. We have associated different symbols with weapons. I recall the two guns from the ship "Saint Peter"—on which the glorious Vitus Bering, glorified in Russia with the name Ivan Ivanovich, made his last voyage in 1741—that were presented to Denmark by the Soviet Union.

"But inasmuch as the past preserves its importance only in connection with the present and the future, it is with great pleasure that I now recall the talk between M.S. Gorbachev and Danish Prime Minister Mr Schluter immediately after the Soviet-U.S. summit in Reykjavik.

"Mr Schluter was one of the first politicians to understand the importance of this event and to express the conviction that it would give the world a lot.

"The acts of public destruction of nuclear missiles now taking place have vindicated the accuracy of this assessment.

"We have something to say about the past.

"About the half-millenium of peaceful treaty-based relations between our countries—a record for world history.

"About the brotherhood in arms during World War II.

"About the plays of Ludvig Holberg, which have been shown on the Russian stage, and about the novels of Ivan Turgenev, which many Danes have read.

"About the flowers laid at the monuments to the Danish resistance fighters, the Soviet servicemen, and the soldiers of the allied army—about all this which, in bearing witness to the Danish people's nobility, reminded the world of the abiding strength of the union which saved European civilization from death.

"For us this digression into the past is inseparable from a realistic and penetrating view of the present and the future. As the great Dane Niels Bohr said, in addition to the dragons created by the human imagination there are new dragons created by people, perfectly real dragons that threaten to destroy the entire human race. We cannot fight them with a sword. We must all act together in the struggle against them.

"An understanding of this danger, in other words an awareness of the realities of present-day world development, has generated a new political thinking as a philosophy and an instrument of practical politics.

"It is not the monopoly of one state and does not set one country or group of countries against another. It will triumph only if each country, while preserving its autonomy and individuality, acts for the sake of universal cohesion, seeing in this its own supreme national interests.

"In saying this I do not forget that our countries belong to different, opposing, military-political alliances, that the past decades have left us with obstacles through which trust can pass only with difficulty. But I say this with the absolute certainty that Europe's division into blocs is an anachronism and that the barriers preventing rapprochement must be removed. We have no other choice. And it seems that movement in this direction is emerging.

"A year ago, at our meeting in New York, you and I, Mr Minister, voiced the hope that the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles would be the first but not the only step toward the reduction of nuclear arsenals. That it would serve as a kind of catalyst for other substantial material measures for disarmament and the consolidation of security and the settlement of regional conflicts. Afghanistan was also mentioned in this connection.

"Now that the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan have become reality, now that, despite resistance, they are being fulfilled by us and by the Afghan leadership, we can see a whole series of positive signs that are turning into a promising trend.

"This is the new thinking translated into the practical sphere, although that same practice still abounds in examples of stagnant thinking.

"Overcoming this inertia is in our common interests. The desire for this is manifested in the original position of many countries, including Denmark, on the problem of the nuclear component of security. We value independence of opinion on this score. It is impossible to reconcile the peace and prosperity of one's own country with the existence of gigantic nuclear arsenals close to or far away from one's national borders. These arsenals take no account of national borders, just as the problem of the ecological danger, which cannot be rectified by traditional means and which is rapidly moving onto a

par with the as yet unresolved problems of nuclear, chemical, and conventional arms, the preservation of a peaceful outer space, and regional conflicts, also takes no account of these borders.

"Like you we consider urgent measures to save our environment to be essential. Here we must act collectively. This is envisaged by the idea of all-embracing international security approved by the United Nations. We value the fact that despite our different approaches toward this concept, we and Denmark have mutual understanding on a number of its components.

"Our positions with regard to the Vienna meeting coincide in many although, it is true, not all respects. We regard as extremely timely the joint appeal made to the East and West by the foreign ministers of Denmark and the FRG to accelerate the preparation of the Vienna final document and to embark—I will add here on my own behalf this year—on talks to reduce armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals.

"I also recall the proposal, after the start of the talks and the exchange and verification of initial data, to hold a meeting of top leaders of the states taking part in the all-European conference. I will stress: a meeting for all countries that signed the Helsinki document, including the United States and Canada.

"It is essential to complete as rapidly as possible the preparation of a convention on banning and eliminating chemical weapons. This task is entirely feasible.

"It is important to agree that the USSR and Denmark, together or in parallel, should continue work to accelerate the relevant accords.

"Seas come up to the threshold of our common European house. They must be seas of peace. In our view it is time to get to work elaborating an integral system of confidence-building measures and measures to restrict military activity in the northern maritime expanses.

"The Soviet Union's opinion in this regard was set forth by M.S. Gorbachev in Murmansk. We have invited Western partners to dialogue. Its aim is not only the reduction of military confrontation but also the development of broad peaceful cooperation.

"We note that interest in this dialogue is growing and that essentially it is already under way.

"Our cooperation today has powerful accelerators. Among them I permit myself to name our restructuring, which is undoubtedly a factor of world importance. It is reconstructing the activity of our society on the basis of revolutionary principles and at the same time exerting beneficial influence on the state of affairs in the world and on our bilateral relations. It is imparting new content to our traditional contacts and is opening up new opportunities for setting up closer economic and scientific and technical ties.

"We are gladdened by the inception of new forms of joint work—like Danish firms' participation in the Kola project, for instance.

"The sagas of the distant past tell of Russia's diverse ties with your country. The latter-day saga of full-blooded political, economic, spiritual, and human ties between the Soviet Union and Denmark can and must be created during this mutually useful coordinated activity of our peoples, countries, and governments."

The dinner passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere. The ministers' speeches were listened to with great attention.

Vorotnikov Continues FRG Visit, Meets Official

LD2109172388 Moscow TASS in English 1702 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Duesseldorf September 21 TASS—The state of and prosepcts for cooperation between the Russian Federation and North Rhine-Westphalia were discussed today during a meeting between Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, who arrived in the Federal Republic of Germany for a visit, and Johannes Rau, minister-president of North Rhine-Westphalia.

The participants in the meetings reaffirmed mutual interest of their governments in a continuation and deepening of traditional cooperation. Conviction was expressed that the widening of contacts between the Russian Federation and the North Rhine-Westphalia made a beneficial contribution to the development of versatile relations between the USSR and the FRG and accorded with the goals and principles of the Moscow Treaty of 1970 and the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Addressing journalists after the meeting, Vitaliy Vorontnikov pointed out that the potentialities for further expanding versatile contacts between the Russian Federation and North Rhine-Westphalia were far from being exhausted.

As a result of the current restructuring process in the USSR and an improvement of Soviet-West German relations, he went on to say, good prereqisites have been created to give still greater dynamism to our relations and to intensify cooperation in the fields of the economy, science and culture. All this will promote the building of a common European home.

Johannes Rau voiced the conviction that the current visit would promote headway in the bilaterial political dialogue. The present exchange of opinions, he emphasized, will serve the development of cooperation in most diverse fields, including machine building, environmental protection, and the sphere of cultural exchanges.

Then the Soviet guest visited the Landtag (parliament) of North Rhine-Westphalia, and acquainted himself with its activities. Vitaliy Vorotnikov made entries in the honorary visitors' books of the government of North Rhine- Westphalia as well the Duesseldorf townhall, and toured the local picture gallery.

In the evening the Soviet guests attended a friendly soccer match here between the teams of the USSR and the FRG.

RSFSR-North Rhine-Westphalia Contacts Noted

LD2109155688 Moscow TASS in English 1529 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—TASS correspondent Georgiy Meyzerov reports:

The Russian Federation, the Soviet Union's largest republic by its territory, population and volume of production, occupies an important place in the trade-and-economic contacts between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). The republic was one of the first to begin to establish international contacts at republican government level.

North Rhine-Westphalia has been the Russian Federation's main trading partner in the FRG for about ten years now. The Land is the FRG's major user of Soviet energy carriers: It accounts for almost a half of the entire amount of oil and oil products supplied from the USSR to the FRG. About 85 percent of the supplies is delivered from the Russian Federation. A considerable amount of natural gas is also supplied there. Besides, the Soviet Union exports various machines, equipment and transport facilities to North Rhine- Westphalia. However, their share in the total volume of Soviet deliveries is less than two percent.

For their part, the firms of North Rhine-Westphalia export equipment to the USSR for metallurgical, gas, chemical, pulp-and-paper industries, machine tool manufacture, automotive construction and other branches of the national economy.

The trade-and-economic contacts between the Russian Federation and North Rhine-Westphalia became a tangible component of business contacts between the USSR and the FRG. Aleksey Zaychikov, deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Russian Federation, referred to the deliveries of equipment and other commodities for the Baykal-Amur railway line, the Novolipetsk metallurgical complex, the Kama and Volzhskiy Autoworks, the Oskol electrometallurgical complex and other big plants of the Russian Federation as examples of efficient fulfilment of obligations by the firms of North Rhine-Westphalia. Trade with them in licences develops as well. Recently GHH, Mannesmann Demag, Thyssen, and Krupp companies purchased licences for Soviet technological processes.

Aleksey Zaychikov pointed out that a growing interest in the development of cooperation with the Russian Federation was being shown on the part of the business community of Baden Wuertemberg. In spring this year a group of experts from the Ministry of Economics of Baden Wuertemberg, while familiarising themselves with the operation of a number of Russian enterprises, prepared recommendations for representatives of the Lands's industry on the establishment of scientific, technical and economic contacts.

The opinion of Vladimir Vinogradov, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation, is that the realistic approach by the governments and business circles of the two federal Lands of the FRG to the development of contacts with the Russian Federation, and a wide margin of economic cooperation created by now inspire confidence that it will continue to intensify.

The government of the Russian Federation, he emphasized, comes out in favour of establishing stronger contacts with the business world of North Rhine-Westphalia and Baden Wuertemberg and inviting them to participate in the implementation of long-term cooperation programmes particularly in machine building, agriculture, and the manufacture of consumer goods.

Korniyenko-Led Delegation Returns From Italy

PM2209102788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Sep 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation Returns"]

[Text] A CPSU and PRAVDA delegation headed by G.M. Korniyenko, member of the CPSU Central Committee and first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, returned to Moscow from Rome on 21 September. The delegation was in Italy to attend the final events of the festival of the newspaper L'UNITA at the invitation of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party.

Briefs

Agreement With UK Publishers

Broad prospects for exchanging information on the achievements of the Soviet Union and Britain in science, technological developments, and culture have been opened up by a document that was signed in Moscow on 21 September. The All-Union Copyright Agency and the British Association of Learned and Professional Society Publishers have agreed on a plan of activities for the next 3 years with regard to exchanging delegations, exhibitions, and information and publicity material. Works by

the scientists of the two countries will be regularly translated and published, and the joint publication of the most important works in different spheres of knowledge will be carried out. The publication of a new English-language magazine entitled SOVIET MEDICAL RESEARCH is being planned in Britain. It will be distributed both in the USSR and also in many English-speaking countries. [Text] [*LD2209010088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2130 GMT 21 Sep 88*]

New UK Ambassador

Moscow September 21 TASS—Today Valentin Nikiforov, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, received the newly appointed ambassador of the United Kingdom to the USSR, Rodric Braithwaite, in connection with the forthcoming presentation of credentials by him. [Text] [*LD2209002188 Moscow TASS in English 1338 GMT 21 Sep 88*]

Political & Social

Further Reportage on Nagorno-Karabakh Unrest

ARMENPRES Report

NC2209112688 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Yerevan, 21 Sept, TASS ARMENPRES—During the past few days, the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast has become markedly tense and clashes have taken place between the Armenians and Azerbaijanis, with grave consequences. The party and soviet bodies in the Armenian and the Azerbaijani SSR's, collectives in Karabakh, and the public are seeking to prevent a further exacerbation of the situation. The working class and the workers in rural areas have displayed a high level of responsibility and firmness, and are ensuring that production, transportation, and the activities of kolkhozes and sovkhozes continue normally. Nevertheless, irresponsible elements, primarily in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, continue to exacerbate the situation, to create disorder, to set fires, and to resort to other disorderly acts. A number of rallies have taken place in Yerevan, at which inflammatory appeals were made. Appeals also have been made in some cities in the Azerbaijan SSR.

The disorderly acts are creating anxiety among many residents of both republics. Party and soviet bodies are receiving appeals from workers who ask that measures be taken to ensure the public's security, to cease the (?hostilites), and to end the irresponsible acts which are obstructing the public's normal life. The people demand that order be established.

The competent bodies and the public are taking all steps possible.

'Severe Measures' Urged

LD2109163888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] I would like to talk about another problem, brought up by a letter. It has been sent from Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk and is addressed to Nagorno-Karabakh. Look at the children. Today they are children and tomorrow citizens. With what thoughts will they enter life? Please, let us sort things out calmly. I am very frightened for your children. Anger never leads to good results.

Excuse me, I have made a mistake; the letter is handwritten. Its writer is Valentina Andreyevna Alekseyeva, a simple Russian woman from the island of Sakhalin. She is very concerned about the latest events in Nagorno-Karabakh. And she is not the only one. All Soviet people have been deeply concerned by these events. Speaking with us is (Viliy Vilgelmovich Deking), team leader of an integrated team at the No 15 Building and Assembly Directorate of the Alma-Ata housing construction trust and delegate to the 27th CPSU Congress:

[(Deking)] It is with pain and sadness that I heard once again that the situation is becoming acute in Nagorno-Karabakh. You catch yourself thinking that these events are taking place somewhere else, in a different country. I am staggered that people are succumbing to the influence of individual elements whose interests are served by all of this. They are, of course, choosing the most precise blow by whipping up enmity between the nationalities.

I think that healthy forces should be found in both republics which should swing people around. They should explain how incorrect this policy is and that it is causing vast economic damage to our state and, in particular, to our republic [Kazakhstan], which is also linked by contract pledges with Azerbaijani and Armenian enterprises.

The people cannot but feel the correctness of the policy of our party and our state. I think that the most severe measures should be taken against such elements and that they should be isolated from society.

'Irresponsible Elements' Noted

LD2109180388 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] As has been reported, the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh was aggravated recently. There were clashes between people of Armenian and Azerbaijani nationalities and these clashes had grave consequences.

Party and soviet bodies of Azerbaijan and Armenia, collectives of establishments, and the public are striving to prevent further complications in the situation. The working class and village workers are showing great responsibility and restraint, and are keeping establishments, transport and collective and state farms working normally.

Nevertheless, irresponsible elements—above all such elements in Nagorno-Karabakh—continue to exacerbate the tension, create disorders, set fires, and are involved in other illegal actions.

A number of meetings have been held in Yerevan. Provocative appeals were heard at these meetings. Such appeals also took place in some residential areas of the Azerbaijan SSR. Antisocial phenomena have rightly caused uneasiness and anxiety among many citizens of both republics. In most of their appeals to the party and soviet bodies, workers request that decisive measures be taken for the security of the population and to stop the dissolutes, irresponsible people, and those who might be a danger to the normal life of the population. People demand that legal measures and the law be enforced everywhere. Law enforcement bodies are taking necessary measures together with the public.

'Special Status,' Curfew Declared

LD2109165388 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Stepanakert September 21 TASS—The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, which has deteriorated as a result of clashes between Armenians and Azerbaijanians, remains tense.

Despite measures being taken to prevent interethnic incidents, cases of arson against private homes and cars as well as other illegal activities took place again last night.

Shots were fired in some places. There were no casualties. But all this still generated tension and many people in Stepanakert and in rural areas are expressing concern about their security.

Factories, building organizations, transport and schools were not working in Stepanakert.

Party bodies and local governing council together with social organizations are seek to restore economic activity and bring the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region and neighboring districts back to normal.

The representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet in Nagorno-Karabakh, Arkadiy Volskiy, spoke on local television and radio in connection with the situation.

He said, inter alia: "The party and government have adopted a number of important decisions to develop the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region and resolve as soon as possible various problems that have accumulated here.

"But this does not apparently suit a certain group of people.

"The situation in the region over recent days has been sharply aggravated. Strikes have started at factories, in building organizations and on public transport. Classes have been discontinued at schools.

"There have been unauthorized rallies and marches. An attack has been provoked on the regional public prosecutor's office. Insults have been made against organs of power. There were cases where the dignity of Interior Ministry troops and militiamen ensuring public order was humiliated."

With regard to the existing situation, a state of emergency and a curfew are being introduced on the territory of Stepanakert and Agdam District as of September 21. [Moscow TASS in English at 1704 GMT transmits a "corrected version" of this item, rendering the preceding sentence as follows: "With regard to the existing situation, Stepanakert and Agdam District are being put on a special status and a curfew is being introduced on their territory as of September 21." Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on page 6 in its 22 September Second Edition carries a similar report, attributed to TASS and titled "Regarding Events in Nagorno-Karabakh," also noting that "a special status [osoboye polozheniye]" is being introduced to the area.]

Every essential measure is being taken to ensure public calm and security, public order and strict respect for socialist legality.

The bureau of the Nagorno-Karabakh region party committee and the executive committee of the regional soviet of people's deputies issued an appeal to the Communists and all the working people of Nagorno-Karabakh, urging them to retain self-control and soberness, to show civic maturity and patience and not to yield to provocations under any circumstances.

"All the arising issues and problems need to be tackled in an atmosphere of legality. The events of the past few days have been developing under a scenario written by provocateurs seeking to destabilize the sitaution and whip up tension, by those eager to compromise perestroyka and democracy and push us off the right path," the appeal said.

It added: "In the situation that has come to exist any rallies, demonstrations, marches and meetings can exacerbate the situation even further. Proceeding from this, the regional party committee and (the regional governing council's) executive committee consider such activities at present inadmissible."

Appeal for 'Self-Restraint'

NC2209070488 [Editorial Report] Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian at 0425 GMT on 22 September, in its review of SOVETAKAN AYASTAN, reports on the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, saying that "since 21 September" measures have been taken in Stepanakert and in another region "to create law and order for the public."

The newspaper also carries an "appeal by the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet leadership, and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers to the republic's Communists and workers." The appeal calls on the people to display "self-restraint," saying that "people learn from their mistakes." An appeal is made to everyone to refrain from emotionalism and to think of the future of their children.

The newspaper also reports on a meeting yesterday of the Armenian SSR Communist Party Central Committee on the recent situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, during which a report was submitted by Suren Arutyunyan.

Troops, Tanks Deployed in Yerevan

AU2209065588 Paris AFP in English 0646 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow, Sept 22 (AFP)—Hundreds of soldiers and an unspecified number of tanks were deployed around official buildings in the Armenian capital Yerevan on Thursday morning, a journalist there said.

A correspondent for the local news agency ARMENPRES, reached by telephone, said that the troops had been deployed to "maintain order" and prevent demonstrations from being staged near the buildings.

They included the headquarters of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee, and the government and parliament buildings.

Some 200,000 people had gathered at a huge outdoor meeting in Yerevan on Thursday, Ambartsum Galastyan, a member of the Armenian nationalist Karabakh committee, told AFP by telephone.

Another source reached from Moscow, a correspondent at the local newspaper KOMMUNIST, said that the Armenian capital was still in the grip of a general strike. "Nobody is working", he said.

The Soviet authorities imposed a curfew throughout the disputed Azerbaijani territory of Nagorno-Karabakh on Wednesday after fresh interethnic unrest between Moslem Azerbaijanis and Christian Armenians, Armenian television reported.

TASS also said that Nagorno-Karabakh's main town, Stepanakert, and the city of Agdam, were being put under a "special status", but did not explain what exceptional measures this might involve.

Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh and neighboring Armenia have since last month stepped up their campaign for the transfer of Nagorno-Karabakh to Armenia. The Kremlin rejected their territorial demand on July 18.

'Anti-Armenian' Troops Alleged

LD2209103188 Hamburg DPA in German 0935 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—The banned Nagorno-Karabakh committee wants the question of the Soviet republic of Armenia leaving the USSR to be raised under certain circumstances in Armenia. The Moscow civil rights campaigner Sergey Grigoryants reported today that the members of the committee in Yerevan have given notice of a "special announcement" this evening.

They stated yesterday that they want to bring up the question of a referendum on leaving the USSR in the event that the Supreme Soviet of Armenia does not comply with its demands for a specal session. [passage omitted]

According to Grigoryants, there were anti-Armenian riots last night in the disputed autonomous area of Nagorno-Karabakh. He said that Azerbaijanis forced their way into the houses of Armenians in the area's second largest town, Shusha, which is predominantly Azerbaijani, plundered them, and set fire to them. Nearly all the Armenian houses in Shusha fell victim to the flames.

The civil rights campaigner went on to say that the special troops of the Interior Ministry deployed in Nagorno-Karabkah acted "crudely" against the Armenian population. One could see that they were anti-Armenian oriented, "following special processing." The troops uprooted vines and used clubs to strike the inhabitants. The nighttime curfew imposed over the area also applies "largely for Armenians," he said.

'Secret Talks' Reported

PM2209104588 London DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 22 Sep 88 p 7

[Xan Smiley dispatch: "Russia Calls State of Emergency in Disputed Region"]

[Text] Moscow—The Kremlin has called a state of emergency in the disputed Karabkah region and put its people under curfew. Arson, shootings, continuing strikes and what is officially described as a wave of "insulting attacks against local authority and police" are throwing an unprecedented challenge at Mr Gobachev.

The troubled region has also suffered illegal demonstations, "mass disorders" and an attack on the regional law office.

A report issued last night by the official news agency, TASS, said that "party and Soviet organs are trying to harmonise the situation in Karabakh and neighbouring districts".

This implied that the trouble had spread beyond the borders of the disputed territory. The Kremlin has highlighted its nervousness by again closing the whole of Armenia to foreign correspondents.

Another telling sign of local Communist Party weakness is that secret talks have been held between the Armenian party leader and unofficial Armenian nationalist leaders who are orchestrating mass meetings in the Armenian capital, Yerevan. More shooting took place on Tuesday night in and around Stepanakert, the Karabakh capital, following violent outbreaks of sectarian strife on Friday and Sunday.

Details have been patchy because the Stepanakert area has been sealed off even to local Soviet citizens.

Last night's TASS communique provided the first official sanctioned glimpses of the latest violence. On Tuesday night, "individual houses and cars were set on

fire...In separate places shots rang out, but there were no victims," said TASS. "All necessary measures for the guarantee of peace and safety of the population" had been taken, said the agency.

It is clear that troops have been brought in, but neither their number nor their orders have been disclosed.

A later English version of TASS said that Karabakh and the neighbouring Agdam district had been "put on a special status", evidently a euphemism for "state of emergency".

TASS had earlier said that 25 people had been injured. Unofficial local sources say one man has died and at least four are seriously injured.

An appeal by the local party warned the mixed Armenian-Azerbaijani population that "the notorious formula of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth will lead us into a blind alley from which there is no exit".

Mr Gorbachev's personal emissary to the area from the Communist Party Central Committee in Moscow, Mr Arkadiy Volskiy, told Karabakh people on local radio and television that a series of important decisions had already been taken to resolve Karabakh's problems, but that this "did not suit a certain group of people".

The two southern republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan, which have been quarrelling over the administrative control of Karabakh, had been closed to foreign correspondents since February, after riots led to 32 deaths. But since early this month the door had been briefly opened to foreign reporters.

Once again, glasnost has evaporated in the face of seriously bad news, while Mr Gorbachev has yet to comment publicly on the worst inter-ethnic unrest since February or on the failure of local Communist Party leaders to deal with it.

But it has been disclosed that Mr Suren Arutyunyan, the new leader of the Armenian Communist party, has twice met members of the so-called Karabakh committee, the unofficial voice of the Armenian nationalist movement. The meetings, at which the Karabakh committee members urged the local party boss to persuade the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union to transfer the disputed region to Armenia and to take extraordinary measures to protect Armenians in Karabakh, has gone unreported in the official press. But the fact that the meetings have taken place highlights the growing strength of the unofficial movement.

Scientist Discusses 'Inter-Ethnic' Relations

LD1509092688 Moscow TASS in English 1838 GMT 14 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 14 TASS—The forms of federative structure, which have evolved in the USSR over the decades, have vindicated themselves, but the dynamism of the original period of the formation of a multinational state, has largely been lost in recent years, said Yuriy Polyakov, a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, a well-known Soviet scientist. He spoke today here in Moscow at a conference of historians of the USSR and Switzerland which discusses, among other things, problems of a federative structure of the two countries.

The scientist noted that, in the past, it was asserted that the USSR did not have any problems of inter-ethnic relations. An insufficient account was taken of the needs of social and economic development of some of the Soviet republics and ethnic entities. An analysis of the shortcomings of the past was reflected in a special resolution on inter-ethnic relations, adopted by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

The USSR also strives to use the experience of other countries in tackling its inter-ethnic problems. The way Switzerland went about solving its linguistic problems is of interest to us, the scientist said.

Yuriy Polyakov heads in the USSR Academy of Sciences a council seized with problems of historical geography and demography. Last year the Moscow "Mysl" (Thought) publishing house published a fundamental work by the scientist. The title of the work is "The Soviet Country in the Early 1920s: Territory and Population."

PRAVDA Editorial on Krasnoyarsk Speech

PM2109114188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Sep 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Peaceful Morning for the Coming Day"]

[Text] The planet's morning starts in the east. We believe that it will be peaceful. Every morning of every day.

No, we are not waiting idly. We are not conjuring up peace with pacifist slogans. The Soviet Union is proposing a concrete program of specific actions. New proposals linked with advancing the cause of pan-Asian security were put forward recently by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, during his speech in Krasnoyarsk. They concern a gigantic area, the most rapidly developing area of the planet, with a population of more than 3 billion. The Soviet Union advocates thoroughly tackling the entire range of problems in this vast region; this entails using the colossal potential of Asia and the Pacific and Indian Ocean basins for the purpose of ensuring progress and peace for all mankind.

The Soviet proposals, which have evoked a broad response in all countries, have already entered the international political lexicon as the "Krasnoyarsk initiatives." They are rightly regarded as "living testimony to the Soviet Union's adherence to a peace-loving course in foreign policy" (Vietnam's NHAN DAN) and a "peace offensive" (Japan's TOKYO SHIMBUN).

The Soviet Union has expressed a readiness not to increase the quantity of any nuclear weapon in the Asia-Pacific region, as it has already been doing for some time. It calls upon the United States and other nuclear powers not to site any additional such weapons there.

We are calling for consultations to be held among the region's main naval powers regarding the non-buildup here of naval forces.

It is proposed that the question of reducing military confrontation in regions where the coasts of the USSR, China, Japan, the DPRK, and South Korea converge be discussed on a multilateral basis. The aim of the discussion is to freeze and commensurately reduce the levels of naval and air forces and limit their activity.

If the United States eliminates its military bases on the Philippines, the USSR will be prepared, on agreement with the SRV Government, to abandon its fleet material and technical supply station at Cam Ranh Bay.

The USSR also proposes the joint elaboration of measures to prevent incidents on the open sea and in the airspace above, to hold an international conference no later than 1990 on the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a peace zone, and to discuss the question of creating a negotiating mechanism to examine our proposals and any others relating to the security of the Asia-Pacific region.

It was pointed out in Krasnoyarsk that truly unbounded horizons are opening up for cooperation—in the sphere of ecology, the economy, culture, and scientific and technical progress. The building of new relations in the Asia-Pacific Ocean basin could be the subject of a meeting of the foreign ministers of all interested states.

The proposal concerning the creation of an international cooperation center at the Krasnoyarsk radar station in order to use space for peaceful purposes is exceptionally important. The USSR is prepared to incorporate this in the system of a world space organization. The wind has been taken out of the sails of any conjectures regarding this radar and "violations" by us of the ABM Treaty. But it is natural to expect the United States to take appropriate steps in response apropos to its radar stations in Greenland and Britain.

The Soviet initiatives are not a matter of improvisation, but the fruit of careful analysis and yet another practical result of the new political thinking. They are the further development of the 1986 Vladivostok program and illustrate that this program's potential has by no means been exhausted. Let us recall that this program put on the agenda questions of creating a barrier to the proliferation and buildup of nuclear weapons in Asia and the Pacific Ocean, of reducing the activity of naval fleets in the Pacific and reducing conventional forces and conventional arms in Asia, and questions of confidence-building measures and nonuse of force in the region.

The very dynamics of our country's life and the radical economic reform and restructuring of the political system in the country are giving a powerful boost to the new initiatives. The words "restructuring" and "peace" have become synonymous. The upcoming measures linked with imparting dynamism to Siberian and Far Eastern regions' foreign economic ties that may be described as "preferential conditions" also testify to its exclusively peaceful character.

Other positive factors are also increasingly being brought to bear. Many countries' public consciousness with regard to the Soviet Union is undergoing a substantial change for the better.

Soviet-Indian relations have in recent years become a constant factor of tremendous international significance. The Delhi declaration embodied the ideas of a world free from nuclear weapons, free from violence, hatred, fear, and suspicion.

Reassuring signs of change can be observed in the political atmosphere itself in the Asia-Pacific region. The Nonaligned Movement is beginning to play an increasingly active role here.

The solution of the Afghan problem has had a powerful effect on processes in the Asia-Pacific region. The very fact of the attainment of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan had a beneficial effect on the quest for a solution to other regional conflicts—the Cambodian, Iran-Iraq, and other conflicts. A kind of model was formed, a unique "blueprint" for a settlement. The role and prestige of the United Nations in resolving international affairs has grown.

If we are talking about the priority area of Soviet foreign policy—about relations with socialist countries—increasing benevolence and trust can be observed in relations between the peoples of the USSR and China. We advocate the complete normalization of relations with the PRC and are prepared to begin preparations for a Sino-Soviet summit.

The list of positive changes could go on, including, for instance, the increase in the dynamics of USSR relations with many countries in the region and the effect of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles on improving the situation, and so on. But there are also negative elements. Japan's stubborn buildup of military potential within the framework of "burden-sharing"

with the United States is worrying. Unlike other important areas of world politics there is no mutual understanding with Washington on the problems of the Asia-Pacific region. This is an anomalous situation if you consider that our state interests do not clash and we advocate full-blooded U.S. participation in the affairs of the Asia-Pacific region—provided it is equitable participation with no great-power mannerisms.

Unfortunately, in Western propaganda one can detect tendencies to distort the essence of the Soviet proposals. Discordant unsubstantiated and often contradictory statements can be heard about their "one-sidedness" and that they are allegedly dictated by weakness or, on the contrary, are too "advantageous" for the Soviet side and put others, the United States for instance, in a difficult position.

However, the new Soviet initiatives are the result of taking into consideration the ideas and initiatives of others, including Asia's socialist countries, and they aim to create a kind of resultant force in the balance of interests. They illustrate our flexibility, readiness to compromise, and desire to consider the positions of all sides. We are entitled to expect fully corresponding efforts rather than a thoughtless brush-off and hasty conclusions. Very serious problems require a serious approach. We are at the beginning of the path to the future of the great Asian-Pacific area of the world. The path is difficult. It must not be traversed in solitude. But this path will lead to a world without nuclear weapons, a world without wars, and it accords with the interests of mankind.

Bovin Interviewed on Foreign Policy, Reforms

AU2209091588 Vienna KURIER in German 22 Sep 88 p 5

[Report on an interview with IZVESTIYA chief commentator Aleksandr Bovin by Hans Rauscher in Moscow: "We Are Now Learning To Know Our Limits"; date not given]

[Text] A star commentator of IZVESTIYA has even more influence than is accounted for by his paper's circulation of 14.5 million copies. Recently Aleksandr Bovin distinguished himself with a commentary in IZVESTIYA in which he called the invasion of Afghanistan and the deployment of the SS-20 missiles "self-inflicted wounds" of Soviet foreign policy. Even under Brezhnev, Bovin, whose office reverberates with opera music and who, in addition to pictures of pin-up girls, has also put up portraits of the late General Secretary Andropov ("he was a personal friend"), was a well-known commentator.

Says Bovin about the "new way of thinking" in Soviet foreign policy:

The goals of Soviet foreign policy have remained the same—safeguarding the country's own interests. This is also the case in Austria or in Monte Carlo. However, the ways to achieve these goals have changed radically: We have become more flexible, more ready for compromise, and we use fewer military-political methods. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union is a superpower with global interests. This is true now and this will remain so in the future. But we have now come to a more critical assessment of our own possibilities. There is a wise saying: "God, give me strength to do what I can do. And give me courage not to do what I cannot do." We now distinguish more precisely between what we can do and what we cannot do.

On the future of world communism:

The world revolution is not on the agenda. Therefore, the thesis of the Soviet Union 's support for the world revolution has become useless. Everyone wants to live a better life today: Austrians, Russians, Eskimos. But everyone has to decide how to achieve this. Today we do not try to make other peoples happier by giving them our happiness. The problems of the East European countries are not our own. Therefore, we do not consider ourselves the clever ones who have to give them advice.

On "democratization" in the Soviet Union:

In our country a multiparty system cannot develop. This train left a long time ago. But there should indeed be a de facto pluralism within the one-party system. Before restructuring, pluralism was an invective.

On the future of restructuring:

Progress is being made with the greatest difficulty, resistance is being overcome—resistance in each of us. Democratization is advancing more quickly, because it does not cost anything.

On his dream for the Soviet Union in the year 2000:

No lines in front of the shops.

Different Methods Against Democratic Union Urged

PM2109135388 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Sep 88 p 2

[M. Lyashenko article: "Facing Evil"]

[Text] ***"We are condemned men," Yuriy Mityunov, press secretary of the "Democratic Union," says. "We are breaking down a wall, and the intelligentsia will follow us through the gap which has formed." What kind of wall and with what do they want to break it down?***

More than 4 weeks have passed since the events of 21 August in Pushkin Square, about which I have already written. During this time there was one more attempt to hold a meeting, also unsuccessful. While "licking their

wounds," the Democratic Union members are willing to continue their "struggle." Does this mean disturbances, breaches of public order, and casualties once again?... Can this be assumed? Not assumed, but predicted with complete certainty.

Of course, it is possible to close one's eyes to everything this time also, as has been done for many years. But the ostrich policy as regards negative phenomena does not lead anywhere except to new negative phenomena. If at one time people had not closed their eyes, probably the union of the criminal world and the bureaucracy would not have occurred to such a degree, and prostitution, drug addiction, alcoholism, underground millionaires, nationalists, the black economy, and extremists would not have made themselves felt so freely.... All these are realities in our society, and we will now have to struggle against all this at a stage when the disease is already on the loose.

In my view, three basic principles were at work in the stagnation years: pretending that all was well; banning everything in sight; and if treatment was given (mainly using cosmetic methods), then it was not for the illness but its symptoms.

Surely the time has come to act differently. The central and local Moscow newspapers are not silent about the "Democratic Union"; they quite rightly condemn its activity. More serious and sharper condemnations cannot be ruled out. But the result...would be a confrontation between the special militia subunits in bulletproof vests and embittered "Democratic Union" members. Neither of them want, they claim, to use force. But in reality? This is the threat voiced by "Democratic Union" members: "Soon we are going to fire at you" (MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA 3 September 1988).

There is another aspect. Over many years many have grown accustomed to believing that if something is banned, if it is opposed by the authorities, then there is something important and curious behind it. Alas, this psychology has almost become universal.

Once when I was talking to one of the leaders of the "union" at his place, he received a telephone call. "I am so and so, I have read about you—you have my sympathy." Was this a put-up job? I took the receiver. The caller introduced himself as an engineer. He had gotten the number from a leaflet, quite by accident. "I condemn and I do not agree in general with the 'Democratic Union's' stance, but I sympathize because to a large degree I do not agree with the form of condemnation...."

"I condemn but I sympathize." I think this formula needs to be deciphered because it is very close to the "Democratic Union's" program motto outlined on the cover of the "document pack" and in the "union's" declaration: "Your opinion is profoundly hostile to me, but I am willing to sacrifice my life for your right to express it." Voltaire's words, the organization's leaders believe, reflect the principle of pluralism which unites the "Democratic Union's" factional groups.

Is it that the sympathy of some and the sacrifice of others have something in common, and are they even akin to each other? The question arises: Why? Perhaps a shortage of openness and talk "for everyone and about everything" is having an effect? In the end let those who so desire have the opportunity to come and listen, if they are interested, to slanderous inventions, anti-Soviet slogans, and "scientific" discoveries. I am sure that there will not be many people to listen to this. And those who come to listen once will probably not come a second time. Everything will certainly seem familiar....

Anti-Soviet propaganda. How terrible is this? Don't those who so desire listen, or have they not listened to it, via the diverse radio "voices?" There are anti-Sovietists in our country.... Are we again going to pretend that they do not exist?

I think that the ideas of restructuring and society's renewal, the efforts of our entire people, and the real life which we are living cannot lose in a competition with a group of people who generally pass off as discoveries things which have already been proclaimed or named at official Soviet and party forums, in our press, and at different forms of discussions and conferences. The only difference is that the "Democratic Union" is looking for forms of "Russian democracy" before our revolution and recognizes the "original historic positive role of soviets of workers', peasants', and soldiers' deputies" only, as stressed in the program document, "before the revolution of 25 October 1917." To all appearances, the modern Western experience of pluralism cannot be denied either, particularly if you take into account the presence of the factions enshrined in the statutes: social democratic, liberal democratic, Christian democratic, socialist, Eurocommunist, and also national and other groups.

So, I repeat, we should be a little less afraid—let them talk (in a legal, allotted place). Perhaps in recent years they would have been dangerous inasmuch as they would have discussed what everyone had been silent about. But now when we are talking openly and constructively about everything, their chances of getting attention are not great. And the hullabaloo around them only disorientates the "audience."

Of course, it is possible to take the following irreconcilable stance: What is this? A call to allow open anti-Soviet propaganda?

I shall reply with obvious arguments. First, only forbidden fruit is sweet—when someone has tried rotten stuff, he will not swallow, chew, or absorb the product. Second, whether we like it or not, this propaganda exists all the

same as long as the capitalist world and the struggle of ideologies exist. Third, it is better to face evil than to force it into the shadows and not know where to search for it.

RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session Cited

LD2109213688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] In this bulletin we include a report on today's routine session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The question of the work of the local soviets of people's deputies of the rayons of Kireyevskiy in Tula Oblast, Kondopozhskiy in Karelian ASSR, and Slyudyanskiy in Irkutsk Oblast was discussed, where elections were held in multicandidate constituencies. During discussion of this question it was noted that the election campaign was held under conditions of heightened interest of electors in the new election procedure. Suffice it to say that at pre-election meetings the number of candidatures discussed exceeded by more than two times the number of places. As a result, these elections provided more opportunity for the formation of effective bodies of local state power.

At the same time, shortcomings were noted in the conduct of the experiment. Thus, not everywhere were conditions created for broad discussion of alternative proposals of candidate deputies. An appropriate resolution of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was adopted on the question discussed.

The session also examined the question of the state of the campaign against drunkenness at Mytishchi machine-building works in Moscow Oblast. Unfortunately, it was noted, the work of eradicating drunkenness at the enterprise was not in keeping with present-day requirements. It was proposed that responsibility for the state of industrial discipline should be increased for heads of workshops and especially foremen and brigade leaders, and that broad publicity should be given to each case of drunkenness at the plant.

The session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium also examined other questions of state affairs.

Anthology of Bukharin Works Published

PM2109141988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Anthology Published"]

[Text] An anthology of the collected works of N.I. Bukharin—an eminent figure of the Communist Party and major scholar in the field of social sciences whose name and works were for a long time wrongly consigned to oblivion—has been published. The book is published for the centenary of his birth.

It includes N.I. Bukharin's most topical articles, reports, and speeches on questions of Marxist-Leninist theory, economic policy, the internal party struggle, and cultural building. A special place is assigned to his works devoted to the propaganda of Lenin's cooperatives plan and the new economic policy and a critique of the Trotskiyists' position on questions of socialist building. The ideas these works contain on methods of economic management used by the socialist state have to a certain extent retained their significance even under present conditions.

The edition was prepared by the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. The book is published by the Political Literature Publishing House.

Past, Present Study of History Criticized

PM2209110988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with A.A. Iskenderov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chief editor of VOPROSY ISTORII, by E. Guseynov: "History and Historians"; date and place not given—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] There can be no doubt that future research workers will perceive the current interest in history as one of the most typical signs of the age of restructuring. As for us today, we can in no way rest satisfied with the way the years-long hunger for knowledge of the past is being satisfied. Textbooks and monographs are obsolete, history examinations in schools have been canceled. But how is historical science overcoming the crisis? This was the topic of our correspondent's conversation with A.A. Iskenderov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chief editor of VOPROSY ISTORII.

[Guseynov] Much is being said today about scientists' unpreparedness to answer acute questions about our recent and distant past. One gets the impression that historians owe a considerable debt to society. Do you agree with this?

[Iskenderov] Of course. Historical science indeed owes a large debt to society. There is huge gap between what society expects from historians and what they can actually offer it today.

The situation is rendered more complex by the fact that history perhaps suffered more than the other social sciences from stagnation phenomena. This is not just a matter of the consequences of the personality cult, but also of the fact that bureaucratic edict methods dominated the management of science for decades. These methods were personified in particular by S. Trapeznikov, who was for a long time head of the CPSU Central Committee Science and Educational Establishments Department. Nevertheless, I do no not intend to attribute the stagnation in historical science—as many of my colleagues are doing today—only to the influence of

external and "objective" factors. The bureaucratic system promoted people who found this stagnation advantageous and who "overfulfilled" the plan, as it were, by producing works which could have been avoided even in those days. We are rejecting the stagnation, we are condemning the stagnation, but it is a pity that some "figures" of the stagnation period are still influential today.

[Guseynov] How would you appraise the progress of restructuring in historical science?

[Iskenderov] No matter in which sphere of society's life it occurs, the process of restructuring—as the results of the 19th party conference confirmed—must consist of two elements. At the first stage there must be criticism and exposure of shortcomings, followed by constructive work at the second stage. As far as historians are concerned, in my view they have still not completed even the first stage. The USSR Academy of Sciences History Department is meanwhile avoiding principled self-criticism. I perceive this as the main reason why the 3 years of restructuring have produced no change in the state of affairs in historical science. Not only has there been no end to the stream of dull literature, it has actually swollen. The elimination of "blank spots" in history is insufficiently effective, and there has been little change in the cadre structure and organization of the science. Despite the fact that society is sharply critical of history and historians, deep inside science itself there is a predominant desire to wait and see, and even to simulate restructuring in places. I believe that until we ourselves conduct an honest analysis of the state of historical science and bring to light the reasons why we have lagged, it will be hard to expect historians to produce the works which society needs so badly today.

[Guseynov] What are the specific manifestations of our laggardness?

[Iskenderov] I already mentioned simulation. As a matter of fact, the actual process of knowledge of the past was simulated for many years on end. The gross output approach underlay the assessment of a historian's work (just as it did in other spheres). The more he wrote, the better. Hence the unhealthy passion for multivolume collective works. Evasion of acute problems, indigestible language. They wrote mainly for themselves.

An opinion was established somehow imperceptibly that, since we were Marxists, the attainment of advanced frontiers in theory was almost automatically guaranteed. Moreover, we even failed to notice that there are few historians in the West today who do not apply various tenets of Marxist methodology and that they are often ahead of us in numerous avenues of research, even in the sphere of Russian and USSR history. In the conditions of uniform thinking we lost interest in developing new ideas and original approaches which, incidentally, have always been a distinguishing feature of Russian and early Soviet science. Thoroughness started being identified with multivolume publications and the thickness of books. We virtually ignored entire new avenues of science like social psychology, historical sociology, historical demography, and others.

The element of creativity was taken out of historians' labor, and collective monographs standardized and homogenized authors' ideas and styles. It was held that a collective can successfully replace any individual, even the most talented one. Huge institutes grew but their yield was minimal, especially as regards the elaboration of major theoretical problems. Yet a historian's labor—and I am saying nothing new here—is profoundly individual. Creative personality is needed here, and this is what is lacking today.

It is necessary to change the actual subject with which historical science deals. Historians must once again focus their attention on man with all his problems and concerns. On reading today's historical works you would not recognize that history is made by people. Instead, you get a multitude of figures and stark models—sociological, economic.... Maybe this is why we have lost sight of the fact that history is a moral science and that it is impossible to cold-bloodedly weigh lives that have been lost against successes that have been achieved. Regardless of the age we are dealing with, be it the time of Ivan the Terrible or the repressions of the thirties. History is primarily the history of people.

And what is the outcome? Our major failures have been indeed in the creation of prestigious multivolume works. Publication of the "History of the CPSU" has ceased, and matters seem to have come to a complete halt as regards publication of the 12th and last volume of the "History of the USSR From Antiquity to Our Day" [Istoriya SSSR s Drevneyshikh Vremen do Nashikh Dney] because if it were to be honestly written—and there is no other way to do it today—it would totally contradict all the preceding volumes.

As a matter of fact, even the publication of scientific books was done in such a fashion as to make you feel embarrassed to face the readers. The first volume of the "History of the USSR" came out in 1966. Today, 22 years later, the 12th and last volume is nowhere in sight. By rights, we ought to refund the money readers have paid for these books which have so swiftly become out of date. Just think: Back in the past S. Solovyev, working alone, published one volume of his famous work "History of Russia from Antiquity" every year, and the public could not wait for these books to appear.

Incidentally, let us not forget that Solovyev himself was 32 years of age when the first volume of his work appeared. And yet we believe that a historian "matures" when he is almost 60. Hence the aging of science. This is why the most important task of restructuring is to create the most favorable possible conditions for the early discovery of talent, including material conditions.

[Guseynov] Looking at an academic institute's structure, you can see that once the titles of departments, sectors, and groups are taken away the institute is no different from a ministry or a trust. Science is even externally built on the bureaucratic principle.

[Iskenderov] And not just externally. A visible gap has opened up between the creative and the administrative edict elements in science. Not only has this gap not closed recently, it has continued to widen. It is specifically expressed in the well-known confrontation between the USSR Academy of Sciences History Department and the bulk of historians. It often results in a situation whereby talented scientists who do not belong to one of the groupings established in the department are simply not elected. The operating principle is: "He is one of ours, the other one is an outsider"; brilliant and talented people can demolish the prevailing order of things, and this is why "outsiders" get nowhere. Just think of the number of elections to the academy which have left gaping vacancies: There were not any of "ours" to be elected, and "outsiders" were not allowed to stand for election. World-class scientists, the pride of Soviet science, people like S. Utchenko, A. Manfred, and B. Porshnev, were not elected to the academy. V. Yanin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who gained fame through his excavations in Novgorod and his discoveries and studies of birch bark manuscripts, failed to get elected to the academy on several recent occasions. And yet we are talking about a Lenin Prize and State Prize winner, a man recognized as an authority all over the world. Cliquishness is the real scourge of the History Department.

But this is not all. Even the current organizational forms of science are thoroughly obsolete. Every historian today has a chief on whom he depends, and this is abnormal in principle. What we need are independent creative groups and research centers which would enjoy sufficient independence in choosing their avenues of research and in setting up targeted groups of scientists to concentrate on the elaboration of unsolved long-term problems. Finally, we need as much as the air that we breathe a body of historians, a society or association like the ones which existed for a long time in Russia. The first step along this path has already been taken—by this I mean the interesting initiative to establish an Association of Young Historians under the Komsomol Central Committee's auspices, an initiative which deserves the utmost support.

[Guseynov] Now about the sway of administrative edict methods in the management of science. Evidently, this is primarily a question of cadres—after all, as you have already said, there is a sizeable stratum of people who find such methods advantageous?

[Iskenderov] Yes, this is true. What has actually happened? The headlong development of science and the enhancement of its role in society's life have resulted in a swelling of administrators' ranks. A generally objective process. But it often happens in life that the good and the bad march side by side. The scientific ranks were quickly joined by people who were interested not so much in science as in the opportunity to enjoy the benefits it confers. Pretty soon they occupied key administrative positions in a whole series of scientific subdivisions and started actively influencing scientific life as a whole and the management of science in particular. Realizing that administrative posts cannot be held for long without high scientific degrees and titles, these functionaries of science started chasing the "distinctions" they lacked, especially since "distinctions" also bring in higher earnings. It goes without saying that they personally are scientifically sterile but, to compensate for this, they are extremely inventive—this is how administrators started claiming as their own the results of other people's research, and very often of research by entire scientific collectives. There was a spate of doctoral theses which produced even intrigues in voting at scientific councils. Several such instances were reported by the press, but many remained "under the carpet." Unfortunately, bureaucratic edict methods still hold sway in the management of historical science. Their dominance will disappear only when the following principle emerges fully triumphant: Scientists must be the leading figures in the academy. This, I repeat, is still not the case.

[Guseynov] An analysis of readers' letters and events in political life reveals the existence of two diametrically opposed views of history in society. Some people demand: "When will you tell us the whole truth?" Others appeal: "Put an end to the blackening of the past!" Who is right?

[Iskenderov] In my view, both groups are wrong even though, both as a professional and as a human being, I feel closer to the viewpoint of people who desire a more profound knowledge of their own history. Look at what happened. The process of studying the past, which should have enjoyed headlong development in the wake of the 20th party congress, was artificially halted in the mid-sixties. Today, after 3 years of restructuring, the people are literally deluged by information about the past and this has produced a kind of a shock. Is it necessary to write so frankly and so much about the past? It is necessary because, by virtue of the specifics of restructuring which in many respects corrects the mistakes of past decades, knowledge of the past has become part of current policy, one way of diagnosing society's illness.

Something else is also important. Both positions which you mentioned assume that it is possible to extract some eternal and immutable truth from history. But this contradicts the very nature of a historian's labor. It is possible to study all the facts relating to, for example, the course of collectivization or industrialization, but their assessment by every generation of people, and consequently by historians, will change as society itself changes. Historians, like all other people, will turn time and again to the past, expanding and enriching not only our knowledge but also our perception of the past.

[Guseynov] You are editor of one of our most prestigious scientific journals. How do you perceive this journal's tasks in the conditions of restructuring?

[Iskenderov] Any scientific journal is primarily a mirror of science, of the state in which it finds itself. In this context our work is not easy, bearing in mind the somewhat delayed reaction by historians to the positive changes in public awareness. We perceive our main task as being the maximum possible satisfaction of the "hunger" for new ideas and facts.

First, we strive to show that history consists of human relations and not just of stark models. We will publish historical portraits, including portraits of party and state figures who died a tragic death, and will describe forgotten pages of history.

Second, we will try to assist as much as we can in raising the the general theoretical standard of research. We will make our journal's pages widely available for various debates and conceptual articles on various problems, and will publish works by foreign scientists. We would like to make our journal more interesting not only for professional scientists but also for all who are interested in history.

Briefs

Computer Shortage in Schools

An all-union seminar is continuing in Simferopol on the subject of developing and using personal computers and software programs in the educational process. The problem continues to be the acute shortage of personal computers in schools and other educational establishments. According to data issued by the USSR State Committee for Statistics, only 14 percent of secondary schools last year possessed facilities for studying the basics of information technology. The majority studied the subject only in their textbooks. [Summary] [*LD2209005188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2130 GMT 21 Sep 88*]

Economic

U.S. Economist Leontief on Market Economy

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["Discussion with Nobel Prize winner U.S. Professor W. Leontief, supplemented by reflections by Moscow Professor V. Belkin on Leontief himself and his methods of analysis," reported by Mikhail Berger: "Reform Facing the Price Barrier"; date and place of discussion not given]

[Text] Last week the prominent U.S. economist W. Leontief, director of the New York University Institute of Economic Analysis and winner of the Nobel Prize, was in our country at the invitation of the Soviet UN Association.

The view of an outsider who is, however, interested (Leontief was born in Russia in 1906) and unbiased, can, in our opinion, help us to develop the best possible, carefully considered decisions, assessments, and predictions.

One of his first scientific works, which he wrote at the age of 19 after graduating from the economics faculty of Leningrad University, was called "The Balance of the USSR National Economy, 1923-1924. A Methodological Critique of the Work of the Central Statistical Administration." It was published in the 12th issue of the journal PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO for 1925. But that was a translation from the German.

"It is a very curious story," Wassily Leontief says with animation. "I wrote that article in Germany, where I had gone to join my father, a Leningrad University professor who was working as an expert at the Soviet Embassy. It was published first by a German journal, and later, to my surprise, a translation appeared in PLANOVOYE KHOZYAYSTVO."

His next work to be published in our country was 33 years later, when Academician V. Nemchinov was beginning to prepare the ground for Leontief to come to the USSR.

"My articles were accepted by academic journals, but for some reason they did not print them. So it came about that I started work at the institute at Kiel, where they showed an interest in my scientific work, and from there I went to China to work under contract... Some people may condemn me, but it turned out that I did not come back."

Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor V. Belkin: In the late sixties I was instructed by Academician V. Nemchinov to prepare various reports on Leontief's works. We published in VOPROSY EKONOMIKI a review of his first book to be published in our country, "Studies in the Structure of the American Economy: Theoretical and Empirical Explorations in Input-Output Analysis."

As far as circumstances allowed, we propagandized Leontief's method. Nemchinov did everything to restore his name to Soviet economic science. It was at his invitation that Leontief came to us for the first time.

I think this name is worthy to rank with the names of our outstanding compatriots.

Leontief has a special place in modern economic science. In my view he is the world's leading economist in the use of the methods of empirical analysis. His models cover not only the economy of America or other individual countries, but the whole world. One of his books, indeed, is called "The Future of the World."

What is the essence of Leontief's method, which has won him worldwide fame? His "input-output" model enables us to calculate the total input of gross product, direct and indirect, per unit of end product in the national economy, and also makes it possible to establish an accurate quantified correlation between gross social product, national income, and the development of individual sectors of the economy.

The method is universal. The Americans used it, for instance, to carry out reconversion—the restructuring of the economy from a wartime to a peacetime footing. It forms the basis of the indicative plans used in Japan. In fact, it was as the originator of this method that Leontief received the Nobel Prize.

If we want to produce a certain quantity of end products, such as cars, for instance, then the input-output model can be used to determine what this will require in terms of rubber, metal, excavators for iron ore extraction, electricity for producing the excavators themselves, and so forth. So his methods fit in very well with our own economy. [Belkin ends]

So Leontief began his scientific career with an analysis of the national economic planning of the twenties. And in the USSR his works, as Academician S. Shatalin observes, stimulated the drawing up of intersector balances for the production and distribution of output in the national economy. So Leontief can be considered, though at second hand, as one of the founders of planned economic management in our country.

[Leontief] Only don't forget that the work you are talking about contained a critique of balance. I said that double and triple counting is used in calculating gross product in the USSR, and you have not entirely eliminated this error to this day.

[Berger] The main thing is that we have begun deliberately and consistently to eliminate it. And in fact that is probably not the main problem for our economy. What, in your view, most hampers the development of reform?

[Leontief] Prices, first and foremost prices. It is impossible to work with them. [Leontief ends]

This is not the first time Leontief has expressed his views on this matter. In August of last year KOMMUNIST published an interview with him in which he discusses our pricing system. In the Soviet Union, Leontief notes, people often say that if you work well, you will be promoted, you will be well paid and given a bonus. But who ultimately decides whether you work well or not? The boss. That is subjective and dangerous. It is often more important for a person to create the impression that he is working well, than really to work well. When a plant or a private individual makes shoes, no one decides whether they are working well or not. They simply sell the shoes on the market and receive a reward in the form of the difference between the price and the production costs. That happens automatically, and therefore it is objective. The work of the economy requires an objective assessment, and that can be supplied only by the correct price, only by market control.

Market control, Leontief believes, can be established over the entire economy, including military sectors. Several enterprises should fight, should compete, for a given order, for a plane, for instance.

[Berger] In principle, it is proposed that the state order should also be placed on a competitive footing.

[Leontief] But the present state order is a reproduction of the old management system. And the percentage covered by this old system is, as I understand it, comparatively high.

[Berger] Yes, but did you know that certain enterprise directors who only recently were demanding freedom of action are now asking to be given a state order for 100 percent of their production program?

[Leontief] But what can you expect? Clearly, without a state order enterprises could be left without raw materials for their production. Unless they rely on fixers...

[Berger] How far can they be relied on? Everyone is sick of them!

[Leontief] Sick of them—that is another matter. In order to get rid of them, you need the right prices.

[Berger] But that requires a market, and we do not have one. What can we do?

[Leontief] You know, I did not come here to teach, but to learn, and I do not want to tell anyone who should do what. But since you have mentioned the market, I will tell you my opinion. There are different ways of teaching a child to swim. You can throw him into the water—and let him swim out by himself. That is a good method, but dangerous—the child might simply drown. But you need not throw him in at the deep end, you could start by supporting him, until he learns to swim.

[Berger] And what can support our economy while it "learns to swim"?

[Leontief] Are you asking my advice again?

[Berger] You could tell us your opinion again.

[Leontief] You need to calculate what the correct prices are, if only approximately, and impose them by decree. [Leontief ends]

It was strange to hear the proposal "impose prices by decree" coming from an expert in the market economy.

[Berger] Mr Leontief, don't you know that that is what we have always done, to "impose" prices "from above"?

[Leontief] But you also have to calculate them correctly. If only approximately. There can be errors, but by no more than 50 percent. As I see it you have errors of 300 percent or more in prices. You need a good, tried and tested technique for calculating prices. When your wife cooks, does she use a cookbook that says what to do, and how, and why? That is technique for you.

Incidentally, I helped to calculate the correct prices in Hungary, and the results were not bad.

[Berger] But it did not help Hungary to resolve all its problems.

[Leontief] True, but that is because there, too, initiative is not sufficiently unfettered. I always cite the same illustration. The economy of a large country can be compared to a yacht. The sail needs wind. That is interest and initiative. But the yacht's movement must be controlled. The rudder is state policy. With skillful control, you can move the boat even in the opposite direction to the wind. The sails of your economy do not have enough wind. And how much can you achieve by means of the rudder alone? [Leontief ends]

V. Belkin: Leontief's idea of the need to begin by calculating the correct prices seems to be highly productive, especially since that calculation could indeed be carried out on the basis of the intersector balance, using Leontief's methods.

But it must be firmly born in mind that prices calculated in this way are only a transitional stage, the "boost phase" for economic reform. Ultimately we must have a price equilibrium, prices that are formed in the course of market regulation. Otherwise we will never be rid of the horror of waiting lines, of a shortage of one type of output or resources accompanied by a surplus of another type of output. [Belkin ends]

[Berger] Mr Leontief, is it true that you were on Roosevelt's "brain trust" as an economic consultant?

[Leontief] I did not cooperate with Roosevelt, because I did not like his agrarian policy. I wrote about that in one of my works. I showed that you cannot help the farmers simply by increasing prices for their output and cutting production. In that case the money will not go to the people it is intended for, and this will create an abnormal situation in the agrarian sector. If you want to help the farmers, pay them subsidies. At that time everyone was very angry with me, although in the end I turned out to be right.

[Berger] Do you not find parallels here with what it is proposed to do in our country? I have in mind the problem of reducing subsidies and revising prices for agricultural produce, which is being widely discussed here.

[Leontief] You cannot judge whether any one measure is right or wrong. You need a comprehensive approach, an analysis of the combination of various measures in order to judge the possible results. One thing I can say: You cannot allow a fall in the masses' living standard. I have another illustration that I often cite. When I am refurbishing my apartment, I cannot stay there, because it is impossible to live and work normally there. I move to a hotel for the time being.

You are in the course of "major capital refurbishments," but there is nowhere to move to. That means that for a time, labor productivity may fall, and that will affect living standards. And here it is very dangerous to give way to the temptation to increase prices because of the shortage of products. It is necessary to import products, so as not to increase prices, or not too much. Otherwise the population could turn their backs on reform and look to the past. That is very dangerous!

I think your "refurbishments" will take 3-4 years. It is necessary to carry out detailed calculations, in several versions: in case productivity falls by 1 percent, 1.5 percent, or 2 percent. The calculations should contain the answers: what is the minimum necessary credit that will be required, how much gold will be sold, what must be purchased, and in what quantities, to survive these essential refurbishments painlessly. I even know who could make those calculations for you—Academician Shatalin.

You could use my methods, you could turn to me directly, I am willing to help.

[Berger] It seems to me that we have a psychological barrier when it comes to credits. Getting into debt, and especially with the capitalists... But do we need hard currency?

[Leontief] I understand, it is a question of pride, so to speak. And if your government takes goods on credit, it will have a good many critics. But it is better for individual opponents to criticize than the masses.

It seems to me that you, especially the intelligentsia, for whom glasnost, your wonderful glasnost, is your bread and butter—you underestimate the problem of consumer goods. Remember when Lenin introduced the New Economic Policy, the countryside quickly grew rich. The peasants went to the cities, but they could not buy anything with the money they had earned. So why work, why earn? So the rebirth of agriculture also depends on the quantity of goods, and that must be taken into account in purchasing them.

After all, you are introducing the lease system in agriculture, but the situation with the shortage of "urban goods" could repeat itself, and then the lease contract workers will stop trying. And another danger also threatens them. I have heard how wary people are of them, I have even heard that sometimes their homes are set on fire. It seems to me that this is the continuing effect of the propaganda that was conducted against the kulaks.

[Berger] It is hardly a question of "antikulak propaganda." It is simply that many people, looking at the lease contract workers, think about their own future.

[Leontief] It is absolutely essential to think about the future of those who could find themselves with nothing to do in time. It is necessary to consider subsidies for those who will be left temporarily without work until the state finds work for them in another sector. If you try to preserve everyone's job at all costs, you cannot avoid placing people in pointless jobs. It is better, after all, to pay them subsidies for a time. Of course, you must preserve your social gains, although I know some people in your country oppose that too. You must understand, it is senseless and impossible to introduce American capitalism in Russia. Capitalism also needs reforms. What is needed is a combination of the advantages of different systems. And it seems to me that you want to create such a combination. [Leontief ends]

Leontief has put forward the idea of a combination before.

A recent work of his is entitled "Is Free Enterprise Possible in Moscow?". It is a review of M. Goldman's book "The Gorbachev Challenge." It was published in THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW last summer. Here Leontief writes, among other things: All that any government can do in economic policy, apart from tackling propaganda tasks, is to achieve and maintain the necessary balance between regulation and free operation of market forces...

This is how the review ends.

Among the major industrial powers, the Soviet Union has hitherto symbolized one extreme, and the United States the other. Taking into account the lessons of the Japanese model, with its close cooperation between business and the government, Gorbachev can make his choice, inclining toward something halfway between these two extremes.

Should we assume, Leontief asks, that eventually a mixed economy will emerge, in which the regulating power of a strong democratic government will make use of the great force of individual initiative to achieve a comparatively high—though not necessarily the maximum possible—national income?

Leontief has no answer to that question.

V. Belkin: I wish to emphasize Leontief's attitude to the problem of prices for consumer goods and to the goods themselves. The "outsider's view" has proved, I think, to be wiser than the view of the State Committee for Prices. Leontief, being sympathetic toward our restructuring and concerned that its social base should not be weakened, calls for caution, while the State Committee for Prices, judging by the nature of the debate that has broken out, is prepared to increase prices with bureaucratic calm, in the guise of a price reform. Leontief's fears and observations appear to me to be not without foundation. You cannot start the reform by increasing prices.

It is necessary to preserve and if possible extend the population's freedom of consumer choice—not the least important freedom. This can be achieved at the first stage by means of credit on a barter basis or any other basis. And that is nothing to be ashamed of. I would regard this too as part of the "boost phase" that is so necessary for the success of the reform.

After all, the lease contract worker who is confident of being able to acquire the goods he needs will work increasingly efficiently. If the lease movement gathers speed in this way, costs could be reduced considerably in the agrarian sector, and therefore the need to cover costs by increasing prices will recede. The lease worker can free us from grain imports. And that means that the dollars will be able to be switchd over from grain to industrial goods. In the former case each dollar is repaid to the coffers in kopeks, in the latter case it is repaid by R10-15.

I think Leontief's arguments about possible unemployment will be the most contentious. There may be different attitudes to this, but we should approach the organization of the socialist market with our eyes open, without keeping quiet about anything. It may be a socialist market, but it is still the market. And it is no use expecting to be able to exploit its advantages without having anything to do with any of its shortcomings. Using its potential with the minimum possible losses to society is another matter. And it is here that the socialist society has very wide opportunities. [Belkin ends]

Of course, an outsider's view is an outsider's view. It can be taken into account in part or in full, or it can be ignored entirely. It places us under no obligations. True, the advice that Leontief has hitherto given to those who asked for it has yielded considerable benefit. Back in 1929, as a very young man, he was invited to Nanjing by the Chinese Government as an economic adviser. He took part in the drafting of the plan for development of the railroads, on which he himself later traveled. The French awarded him the order of the Legion d'Honneur, and the Japanese emperor presented him with the highest award available to a foreigner—the Order of the Rising Sun—for promoting the acceleration of Japan's

economic development. Leontief recently finished work on planning the development of transport systems in Italy. That was a request from the Italian Government.

We all know well that the economic reform is entailing far greater difficulties than was expected. We are coming up against problems of a complexity that we had not even imagined before. So why should we not make use of practical advice "from an outsider"?

Editor Views Flaws in Planning Practice

PM2009112988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[Deputy Chief Editor D. Valovoy article: "The Pyramid. Notes and Reflections From a USSR Council of Ministers Session"—first two paragraphs are a boxed introduction]

[Text] **Criticizing the cost-based mechanism in PRAVDA back in 1977, I wrote: "The base of the economic pyramid is made up of enterprises and production associations. Its summit is the Gosplan. The fate of tens of thousands of individual items produced under contract and supply orders must be decided at 'the bottom.' As we climb toward the pyramid's 'summit,' the range of physical indicators must become narrower. In order to ensure the balanced and rational development of the national economy, the Gosplan needs to monitor just a few hundred basic types of output. Currently its field of vision encompasses many thousands of articles, while the most important types are controlled from 'the bottom.' Consequently, the USSR Gosplan has ended up at the summit of... an inverted pyramid...."**

An attempt was made this year to right the pyramid by means of state orders. It did not work out right away. A new procedure for the formation of state orders will be introduced from 1989.

As the transition to economic methods of management progresses, the temperature in the Kremlin's Oval Hall, where Council of Ministers sessions are held, rises noticeably. Instead of the "hall of complacency" which it was during the long years of the stagnation period, it has been transformed into a hall of principled and at times uncompromising businesslike decisions on major national economic problems. This is the overall impression from the recent session of the USSR Council of Ministers which discussed reports by USSR Gosplan Chairman Yu. Maslyukov on the draft plan for 1989 and USSR Minister of Finance B. Gostev on the draft budget for 1989.

The reports, the speeches by members of the government, and the closing speech by N. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, noted the differences between the draft plan for 1989 and plans for previous years in this 5-year plan period. The main distinguishing feature of next year's plan lies in the fact that it was compiled after the 19th all-union party conference and, consequently, it has taken a significant turn toward the social sphere. Next year's growth of Group "B" output is planned at 6.7 percent against 2.6 percent for Group "A," which is 2.5 times faster. It is planned to commission 134 million square meters of housing, which is 12.8 million square meters more than envisaged in the 5-year plan. The planned construction of schools, preschool facilities, children's homes, health centers, and other facilities for social, cultural, and consumer service purposes is higher than envisaged in the 5-year plan. Measures are planned to fulfill recent resolutions on increasing consumer goods and services.

Another important feature of the plan for the 3d year of the 5-year plan is that all sectors of the national economy will switch to the new principles of full economic accountability and self-financing. This is why it was proposed that the session sum up the experience of enterprises and associations operating in the new fashion in the current year, taking into account not only positive aspects but also negative features so as to make corresponding amendments and additions to normative documents.

As I see it, the "bone of contention" during the discussion of the draft plan was provided by the **balance** (or rather the imbalance) between many sectors and spheres of social reproduction. Despite last year's party and government resolution which prohibited the submission of unbalanced draft plans to the Council of Ministers, such drafts are still being submitted and the Council of Ministers Presidium is forced to send them back several times. A discussion of this problem proved that many vertical ties have **already** been broken during the process of the pyramid's "shake-up," while horizontal ties have **not yet** been established. A number of enterprises are unilaterally refusing to supply planned output or are significantly reducing deliveries. Minister of Railways N. Konarev cited data to show that the draft 1989 plan envisages a reduction in 5-year plan delivery targets of 31 percent for electric locomotives, 23 percent for railroad cars, and 27 percent for open cars. Over a 10-year period the Altay plant has almost halved the output of boxcars, and plans a further 25-percent reduction next year.

"And how do plants like these intend to earn money to pay wages?" the chairman asked.

From the floor:

"By raising prices they reach the ruble volume needed to pay wages."

N. Konarev handed to Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov a table showing the steady rise in prices for electric locomotives, cars, and many other types of output. Back in 1985 the 8-axle VL-10 electric locomotive cost R256,000, but the price of the new 12-axle VL-15 has jumped to R915,000—an increase of 260 percent—while capacity has increased by only 70 percent. Over the last

few years there has been a 30-percent increase in the price for the Altay plant's cars, and a 57-percent increase in the price for the Dneprodzerzhinsk plant's low-sided cars. In this context the chairman drew attention to the fact that the issue here concerns state prices rather than contract prices, whose unjustified growth has recently become increasingly noticeable and intolerable. Here, he said, we are dealing with extortionate prices instead of everybody working to earn profit.

USSR Gossnab Chairman L. Voronin described the results of an analysis of requisitions for 1,000 types of output produced in line with control figures. It emerged that, for next year, 20 percent of enterprises are proposing to manufacture 15-30 percent less of this output than this year. For example, the Syktyvkar timber industry complex produced 10,200 tonnes of label paper in 1987, is producing the same quantity in 1988, but is totally refusing to produce any next year. The Riga paper factory is also totally refusing to produce any in 1989. The "Kran" Production Association (under the Ministry of Heavy and Transport Machine Building) produced 408 belt conveyers in 1987, expects to produce 460 this year, and proposes... 223 units next year.

In 1989 state orders will account for 25 percent of output in the machine building complex, 59 percent in the fuel and energy complex, 34 percent in the chemical and timber industry complex, 30 percent in the Ministry of Light Industry, and 51 percent in the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry. All output relating to intrasector deliveries will be excluded from state orders. There is hardly any need to say that, in these conditions, unilateral repudiation of concluded contracts and breaches of production ties could result in unpredictable consequences. In this context, the chairman advised Lev Alekseyevich [Voronin] to approach the mass media. This year, he said, the press has leveled active and fair criticism against the system of state orders, since at times it accounted for 100 percent of output produced. Now it must be equally active in criticizing unjustified refusals to produce or reductions in the manufacture of necessary output, and must help in ensuring a smoother transition from vertical (administrative) to horizontal (economic) ties.

The reports and speeches contained numerous critical remarks about the construction industry. Last year's growth of incomplete production by R8 billion resulted in 8 million tonnes of cement being taken out of circulation. The quantity of uninstalled equipment is increasing. In all the complexes the volume of capital investment outstripped the commissioning of fixed capital. There is not a single ministry where an effective struggle was waged against the dissipation of resources. There are now on average about 12 people (fewer than in a reasonable-size cooperative) at every project under construction. Hence the growth of never-ending construction projects. It was noted at the session that the new economic mechanism is ineffective against the dissipation of capital investments. It was suggested that this question be studied and thought be given to the Belorussian experience and other methods providing incentives for commissioning.

It was noted at the session that, following the 1985 decree, noteworthy successes were achieved in the elimination of alcoholism and drunkenness. An end has been put to drunkenness at work and in other public places. Now it is easier to live and breathe. It was noted at the same time that methods of administrative prohibition gradually gained the upper hand even in this complex work. Regions engaged in unpublicized "competition" to find which one would close down more outlets for the sale of alcoholic products and "unveil" sobriety zones. But the initiators are evidently hardly perturbed by the fact that sugar consumption in these "sober" zones is in excess of physiological requirements and coupons had to be introduced for the sale of sugar. It was proposed at the session that sales of vodka and fortified wines should be strictly regulated by the relevant resolution on their sales norms. As for dry wines, champagne, cognac, and beer, permission was given for them to be sold in food stores, thus putting an end to the lines that degrade human dignity.

There was a principled and businesslike conversation about the state of financial affairs in the national economy. Timidly remaining silent about inflation and the budget deficit, the former leadership of the country's economy drove these diseases deeper inside and ultimately this had to result in their aggravation. B. Gostev noted that an improvement in the financial position of a number of enterprises has been observed. But the overall situation is alarming. As yet we are not succeeding in making progress in the solution of the budget deficit problem. For the first time, he said, this question will be submitted to a USSR Supreme Soviet session. The state spends over R11 billion each year just to cover losses. The government has planned a system of measures to eliminate loss-making in the next few years, right up to the closure of such enterprises and the employment of people working in them elsewhere. The absence of proper monitoring of the correlation between labor productivity growth and wages growth has resulted in faster incomes growth.

Summing up the work done on compiling the 1989 plan, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov said in conclusion that much has been successfully achieved but a lot of work still lies ahead. Moreover, he especially emphasized the fact that the fate of the 5-year plan will depend to a significant extent on the fulfillment of next year's plan. If we fail to cope with it, it will be virtually impossible to make up the shortfall in the last year. This is why 1989 will largely determine whether the 5-year plan will be fulfilled and will show what we will take to the 28th CPSU Congress, at which it will be necessary to report to the party and the people on the fulfillment of the 27th party congress decisions.

Even after I had left the Kremlin my thoughts remained for a long time back in the Oval Hall: I kept pondering what I had heard and comparing it against what I had been told the day before by Wassily Leontief, the noted U.S. economist and Nobel Prize winner, in an interview about our economy for PRAVDA. The more I thought, the more I kept asking myself: Why? Why?

The government, as a rule, is made up of intelligent and experienced people devoted to the cause. They are striving to overcome the grim legacy with all their mind and heart. Without sparing themselves, they work until late even on their days off (as a matter of fact, the session was held on a Saturday). I have known many of them for a long time and have conversed with them on many occasions. They are perfectly aware of their shortcomings and the ways to overcome them. Why is it that we are unable to achieve a radical breakthrough in the economy? Why? It seems that it is primarily because each one of them gives main priority to departmental interests and indicators which do not properly conform with public interests and indicators. After all, the dominance of wasteful cost-based indicators objectively intensified in the 12th 5-Year Plan and reached its apogee. The following principle still applies: The more that is wasted, the "higher" the efficiency of production. Figuratively speaking, we are fighting economic mismanagement not with a clenched and powerful interdepartmental fist but with an open palm.

Way back in 1925, our 19-year old student Wassily Leontief, while at Berlin University, published in a German journal an article about the USSR's national economic balance in 1923-1924. He perceived this as a very promising initiative but was critical of it and proposed a differentiation between gross product, which double-counted objects of labor, and real gross product, and pointed out the dangers present when they were treated as identical. This was soon to mark the beginning of Wassily Wassilevich's triumph. Leontief, now 82 years old, is still swamped with commissions from other countries in the world, mostly from Japan. His article was translated and published in our country that same year. But we failed to take advantage of his advice. Indeed, a prophet is not without honor, save in his own country. We are still ignoring his advice. Yet the total value of double-counted items—so-called "phantom output"—reached R541 billion in 1985. It accounted for 39.2 percent of the gross social product. It is hardly necessary to prove that value calculations of social labor productivity, production efficiency, and other indicators worked out on such an inflated basis are misrepresented as if in a funhouse mirror. In the course of a conversation with M. Eydelman, director of the Scientific Research Institute for Statistics, (PRAVDA 9 December 1985), we suggested the adoption of value indicators excluding double counting for the 12th 5-Year Plan. In his words, this "does not require any radical reforms in planning and statistics." The response was negative.

The 12th 5-Year Plan was drawn up on the basis of the old cost-based principles which deform the objective of socialist production. Article II of the USSR Law on the 5-Year Plan reads: "To lay down the following basic indicators of the Plan for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990," and then goes on to list 11 indicators, some of which are determined on the basis of gross product (including double counting) **proceeding from the current level** which for years has been inflated through the artificial spread of double counting, the higher cost of output resulting from increased materials-intensiveness, rising prices, the "sweeping away" of cheap products, and frequently... exaggerated reporting. The Basic Guidelines for Economic Development Through the Year 2000, approved by that same law, are also built on the cost-based principle. This principle also "warps" the targeted structure of long-term regional economic programs, which was discussed in L. Pyatiletova's interview with P. Minakir, scientist from the USSR Academy of Sciences Far East Department, published under the title "For the Sake of the Figures..." (PRAVDA 4 September 1988).

A law is a law. It must be implemented. But the implementation of the law in question is not in line with the ideas of the 19th party conference and, in many respects, runs contrary to the Law on Enterprise. It seems to me, therefore, that this law should not be "overlooked" when the draft plan for 1989 is debated at the USSR Supreme Soviet session. The report to the 19th party conference said: "How many people in our country loyally serve His Majesty 'Gross Output!'" They claim that, under the new conditions, commodity and net output is apparently used "computationally" for "analysis purposes." But this does not correspond with reality. The multifaceted gross output system "suffocates" economic managers even more strongly and pushes them even more powerfully in the direction of wastefulness. New instructions and normatives have been adapted to suit the law. The entire enlightened world calculates expenditure of material resources per unit produced, while our country does it indiscriminately per ruble of commodity output. The notorious "million" [millionnik] dominates to this day. Elsewhere wages are determined according to the labor-intensiveness and quality of output produced, but here they are determined according to turnover in rubles, which opens up numerous channels for "pumping" unearned money into circulation.

Brain rather than brawn should be used to right the pyramid. Why is it that people all over the world, like many of our cooperative members and leaseholders, chase state orders while state enterprises and kolkhozes avoid them like the plague? Because the former enjoy real economic independence while the latter do so only on paper. The plan expressed in rubles hangs above their heads like a Damoclean sword and nearly always operates against 100-percent plan fulfillment. Avoiding state orders and reducing the manufacture of cheap and labor-intensive output, they want to produce more of what is in short supply, knowing that the sale of this output at higher prices will guarantee them a healthy rate of activity, wages, and some of the goods in short supply they need in order to barter.

As we progress in creating economic conditions in which state enterprises and kolkhozes start chasing state orders, the pyramid will smoothly revert to its normal position.

The result of this artificial boosting of the volume of money for the sake of attaining the planned rates of activity and guaranteeing wages is that every ruble of national income represents a progressively smaller proportion of the most important types of foodstuffs, industrial goods, and housing in physical terms. In 1985 this proportion was approximately half the 1965 figure and somewhere between one-fourth and one-fifth of the 1950 figure. A trend toward acceleration of this process emerged during the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan period. It is therefore time to put an end to this pointless "marathon" in pursuit of rubles and millions of tonnes of steel, cement, and other types of output whose production in our country is higher than anywhere else in the world. In line with the objectives of socialist production, the main priority must be given to the most important types of consumer goods, and the smaller the expenditure of labor and material resources on production, the better! It is necessary to resolutely turn in the direction of the **targeted** principle of economic management. The sad experience of the 1979 "reform" indicates: Unless we embark on this next year, the wonderful ideas of radical economic reform could be discredited by the end of the 5-year plan period.

I would like to conclude my reflections with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's words at the 19th party conference:

"We need more than just millions of tonnes of steel, millions of tonnes of cement, or millions of tonnes of coal, we need specific end results. How long are we going to go around and around the vicious circle of hopelessly obsolete ideas and formulas like 'production for production's sake' and 'the plan for the plan's sake?'"

Agriculture

Drought Means Smaller Grain Purchases

PM2109152588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Sep 88 Morning Edition p 1

[I. Abakumov "Agricultural Review": "The Conditions Have Been Created, Now It Is Up to the Cadres"]

[Excerpt] According to USSR State Committee for Statistics figures, 98.1 million hectares of grain and pulse crops (excluding corn) had been threshed by Monday, 19 September. This is 90 percent of the sown area.

So the end of the grain harvest is in sight. Combines on farms in the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldavia, Tajikistan, and Kazakhstan are working on the last thousands of hectares. Belorussia, a number of Transcaucasian republics, and 12 RSFSR oblasts have already fulfilled state orders for grain sales. Similar reports are streaming in and the pace of harvest work is much higher than last year. But we know, too, that the summer drought has hit the country's main grain regions hard—the Volga, the Urals, West Siberia, and North Kazakhstan. USSR Gosagroprom experts forecast that in the country as a whole grain purchases will be down somewhat on the past 2 years.

Certainly there is nothing heartening in that news, but the fact that it has been made public says much. Above all, it is a sign of the honesty in assessing the results of agro-industrial complex work that is now becoming the established practice. And that gives a certain confidence that the tasks associated with providing oblasts, republics, and the country as a whole with home-produced food are realistic. [passage omitted]

Uzbek Official Views Potential of Lease System

PM2109115588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[Article by SOVET UZBEKISTONI department chief N. Sadullayev: "Only Timid Steps. What Is Preventing Uzbekistan's Stockmen From Working in the New Fashion"]

[Excerpts] Uzbek SSR—Stockman and rice grower Kh. Ismailov; herdsmen T. Amanbayev, T. Boltabayev, and Sh. Kalandrov; machine operator F. Ernazarov; and veterinary technician U. Rakhimov became the first lessees on Khorzem Oblast's "Yangiabad" Sovkhoz. The team concluded a 5-year contract with the sovkhoz management to lease 400 steers and calves. To rear the animals the lessees have been allocated equipment, a heated cow shed for winter, and an open shed for summer.

Initially, the management undertook to supply the lessees with the feed necessary for their livestock. But from next year they will be allocated 190 hectares to be sown to alfalfa, corn, rape, and rice.

"It is pleasurable, advantageous, and a matter of honor to work in the new fashion," Kh. Ismailov told me. "We took over the steers only in August, their ages ranging from 6 months to 2 years. We are confident that we will obtain a weight gain of at least 330-350 kg per steer in 1 year. Where do we get this calculation from, are we not boasting? Yet even now every animal is putting on 400-500 grams daily."

It is not only outsiders who are amazed, the lessees themselves are surprised: This is the fruit of labor without the endless "directives." What benefit could have been expected from those same lease team stockmen if they had had no material interest at all? [passage omitted]

It would seem that the way to boost the republic's chronically weak stock raising has been found and, in many places, verified. Nonetheless, the leasing movement is still developing very timidly in Uzbekistan. In formal terms, many collectives are working to contract,

but the proper efficiency has yet to appear. And indeed how can it be expected to appear when 90 percent of teams and stock-raising units are under contract... only for the record. Only 7 of 1,907 farms have switched to full leasing! The organization of contractual subdivisions in most oblasts, rayons, and farms is purely formally.

According to data from the Uzbek State Committee for Statistics, 169 of the republic's farms have no cattle at all, while 286 sovkhozes and kolkhozes have no cows. The population's private yards could account for a weighty proportion of the production of stock-raising products. Even now they supply 50 percent of the meat produced in Uzbekistan, 64 percent of the milk, and 33 percent of the eggs. But the reserves are truly enormous. Nevertheless, almost 40 percent of rural stockyards have no cows and one-half of them do not keep sheep.

The process of establishing lessees in Uzbekistan will need further improvements, amendments, additions, and "fine tuning." But facts are facts: It is the lessees who are now setting the tone in boosting stock raising in the republic. Everything must be done to ensure that this turnabout is a decisive one.

Agricultural Developments for 11-22 Sep

LD2209055788 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 11-22 September. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

11 September

The grain harvest is over in Kurgan Oblast where dry weather led to a lower harvest than planned. Plowing of land for spring crops is now underway. Half is now ready. (0100)

Some 200,000 tonnes of cotton have so far been procured in Uzbekistan. The harvest is good and quality is high, according to Gosagroprom specialists. (0600)

12 September

Cereal crops have been harvested from the area of 400,000 hectares in Tyan Shan Oblast. Twenty-seven and a half quintals of grain are being threshed from every hectare there. In the Pressykul area and in Naryn Oblast grain growers are harvesting up to 50 quintals per hectare. (0600)

13 September

No fileworthy items monitored.

14 September

By 12 September, grain and pulse crops—not including corn—had been threshed on an area of more than 94 million hectares, which amounts to 87 percent of the area under cultivation. Potatoes have been lifted from 940,000 hectares. That is 37 percent of the total area planted. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700)

15 September

The grain harvest is near completion in Kazakhstan. Over 20 of the 23 million hectares have been cleared. (0200)

16 September

Cotton harvesting by machine is in full swing in Azerbaijan. Ripening is between 8 and 10 days late this year due to low temperatures.

Grain harvesting continues in Georgia, where over 80 percent of the area sown for cereal crops has been harvested. (1330)

17 September

Tajikistan is harvesting cotton almost a third faster than last year. The 200,000th tonne will reach reception points today. More than half of this is fine fiber. All farms have begun harvesting of the crop. (0204)

Feed procurement is still in full swing throughout the country. According to the latest statistical data, 112.5 million tonnes of feed have been laid in store so far. (1100)

Farmers in southern Kirghizia have started winter crop sowing. This year they have overfulfilled their plan for grain sales to the state by nearly twofold. (1800)

Farms in Tselingograd Oblast have delivered 1,820,000 tonnes of grain to elevators, and nearly 300,000 tonnes is piled up at the farms. As always, there are not enough trucks. There have been times when convoys of trucks went to Kubyshev or Orenburg instead of to Tselinograd, wasting a week of urgent harvesting time in going so far. (2230)

18 September

Half a million tonnes of newly harvested cotton has been stored in the state granaries of Uzbekistan to date. The tempo of harvesting is much faster than in previous years. The farmers of Khorezm Oblast retain the lead in competition: they have already brought in a quarter of their planned harvest. (0204)

19 September

In Khorezm Oblast, many cotton growers are obtaining yields of 25 or more quintals. This year the oblast will produce about 100,000 tonnes of highgrade cotton. (0204)

20 September

The grain harvest in Pavlodar Oblast is approaching the end. To date grain crops have been harvested on 1.5 million hectares. This is 87 percent of all areas. (0204)

Tselinograd Oblast bread grain growers have delivered 2 million tonnes of the new harvest to the state, our correspondent reports. Virtually all grain that has been delivered is of the highest quality. R90 million has been paid out to sovkhozes and kolkhozes above plan. Reaping of the sown areas has been completed. All grain is on the threshing floors and at the elevators. Its delivery is continuing. (0400)

According to Gosagroprom SSR, by today 1,360,000 tonnes of raw cotton had been delivered to procurement points in the cotton producing republics of Central Asia and in Azerbaijan. This is about one-sixth of the total planned harvest. (1500)

21 September

Tomsk Oblast's machine operators started harvesting grain crops on the last 100,000 hectares. The rainy weather is holding them back. Quite a good harvest has been grown everywhere. Many farms are threshing 25-26 quintals of grain per hectare. (0400)

According to the Kazakh Agro-Industrial Committee, bread grain has been reaped on 22 million hectares, which is more than 90 percent of the total. Many farms have completed harvesting eared crops and have moved over to groat and commercial crops. Land is being prepared for next year's crops and sowing of winter crops continues. (1000)

22 September

Tselinograd Oblast crop farmers have completed harvesting the main feed crop—corn for silage. The gross harvest exceeded 4 million tonnes. (0204)

The 1 millionth tonne of cotton will arrive at Uzbekistan's procurement centers today. It is noteworthy that this target will be reached 2 weeks earlier than last year. (0204)

Belgorod Oblast sugarbeet growers have started large-scale harvesting. This most important industrial crop for this Chernozem Zone occupies over 150,000 hectares, one of the largest sugarbeet acreages in the RSFSR. The flow of sugarbeets arriving at all eleven sugar refineries of the Belgorodsakharagroprom is growing. (0400)

Krasnodar Kray crop farmers today surpassed the 3 million tonne mark in selling bread grain to the state. The grain reaching the elevators is mainly of strong and valuable varieties. (0400)

Scientific

'Mir' Cosmonauts Complete 9 Months in Orbit

LD2009125088 Moscow TASS in English 1148 GMT 20 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 20 TASS—TASS correspondent reports from the Flight Control Center:

Soviet Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov complete the ninth month of work in orbit. Researcher physician Valeriy Polyakov has been working together with them aboard Mir oribital complex for three weeks.

Parallel (?to loading Progress) tanker-transport vehicle and checking and maintenance work aboard the station, the crew carry on the planned scientific and technical research.

Under the programme of the experiments in extra-atmospheric astronomy, the cosmonauts yesterday used the ultra-violet telescope, Glazar, to photograph separate areas of Cassiopeia constellation and today (?began) to make pictures of the celestial sphere near Alpha Taurus.

Telescopes of the orbital observatory, Roentgen, keep surveying the X-ray source in Ara constellation.

The spacemen begin a series of experiments on the Biryuza device to study the dynamics of physico-chemical processes in micro-gravitation conditions. Before this, the crew calibrated this device's precision thermostat.

According to telemetry and reports from orbit, the flight of Mir research complex proceeds normally. The cosmonauts feel well.

Conduct Maintenance Repairs

LD2209081588 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 22 Sep 88

[Text] Soviet Cosmonauts Valeriy Titov and Musa Manarov have begun their 10th month on board the orbital complex "Mir." The third member of their crew, Valeriy Polyakov, is in his fourth week in orbit.

The cosmonauts decided to devote Thursday almost exclusively to the maintenance repairs of the life support system of the orbital complex.

Titov and Manarov intend to return to earth in late December after 1 year in space.

Baklanov Addresses Fiber Optics Forum

PM2009120988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Sep 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Conference Held"]

[Text] The use of light conduit equipment and primarily fiber optic lines is a very important avenue for enhancing the effectiveness of means of communication and information. An intersectorial conference and exhibition at the USSR Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry were devoted to an examination of these questions yesterday. Participating in the work of the conference were O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; ministry and department leaders; and responsible workers of the CPSU Central Committee.

Questions of the further development of work on creating this progressive equipment and on its introduction into the national economy, and the elimination of the causes for the delay in the development of this important scientific and technical avenue were discussed.

Assessing the results of the work, the CPSU Central Committee secretary noted the serious lag in fulfilling the set targets and the still low qualitative indicators of the fiber optic systems produced, compared with foreign achievements. Attention was drawn to the high prices for articles, which essentially cancel out the great advantages of light conduit communication lines and, under the conditions of economically accountable [khozraschetnyye] relations, delay their application. There remain many unresolved questions in the development and delivery of original materials and component kits and in the fitting of measurement apparatuses to optical lines. Sharp criticism was leveled against the departmental approach of the leaders of individual ministries toward the development of this important equipment and the creation of the necessary capacities for its production.

The task has been set to considerably increase the production of competitive fiber optic equipment, corresponding to the worldwide technical standard, for communications systems. Under these conditions it is essential to enhance the effectiveness of scientific and technical work, to coordinate the activity of numerous scientific research institutes and design bureaus, to vigorously modernize existing production facilities, and to actively build up capacities, including through areas that are being freed for use. It is important to direct developers' efforts toward the creation of progressive technologies in accordance with modern scientific and technical achievements.

Ministers V.A. Shamshin and V.Kh. Doguzhiyev and other party and economic leaders took part in the discussion of the questions.

Military

'Autumn-88' Training Exercise Continues

Yazov, Pact Ministers Attend

PM2109190988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Sep 88 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "At the 'Autumn-88' Exercise"]

[Text] On 20 September, the combat training activities by the opposing sides taking part in the "Autumn-88" exercises entered a decisive phase. In an effort to achieve success, the "Southern" command made airborne and seaborne landings in a joint operation with Black Sea Fleet ships.

The "Southerners" overcame the "Northerners'" antilanding defenses through the use of air strikes and shipboard artillery fire, and established bridgeheads on the seashore. The "Northerners," however, put up stubborn and active resistance.

The exercise is being led by Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR defense minister.

The troops' activities were observed by: Army General D. Dzhurov, Bulgarian minister of national defense; Colonel General F. Karpati, Hungarian defense minister; Army General H. Kessler, GDR minister of national defense; Army General F. Siwicki, Polish minister of national defense; Colonel General V. Milea, Romanian minister of national defense; and Army General M. Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense. [Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2323 GMT on 20 September, in a report on the "Autumn-88" exercises and its observers, notes: "The activities of the troops were observed by the defense ministers of Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia."]

Sergeant on Communications Work

LD2109220889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Excerpt] Today is the 45th anniversary of the start of one of the most heroic operations—the forging of the Dnepr River. But turning from these historic events, we come to the present day. We are, of course, talking about the "Autumn-88" command-staff exercises. We have received a report from our special correspondent Vladimir Sokolov and are waiting for it to come in.

[Sokolov] I am conducting this report far from the scene of combat events. Here we cannot hear the shooting, the rumble of tanks, or the roar of the aircraft. Mighty pine trees stand solemnly, and the silence of the autumn forest is broken only—just listen to it—by the even hum of a camouflaged diesel engine. This is the only thing revealing that army communications men are stationed in the forest thicket, carrying out an around-the-clock combat watch.

This communications center is also an important center of the exercises. Without its reliable work, control of troops in a modern battle is unthinkable. From the equipment one can see that the communications men have come from far away. Sergeant Aleksandr Avramenko confirms this.

[Avramenko] Yes, we have come from far away. Immediately after the march and the establishment of the communications center, the cable line was laid. I am a line-layer myself. We laid almost 50 km of cable line. Everything was done manually. We managed to do everything quickly, and we established communications in good time. My subunit received thanks from the commander of the unit for laying the cable line.

[Sokolov] Since then the sound of the diesel engine of the field power station continues day and night. It maintains communications between the staffs and troops operating over a vast territory of the Ukraine and Moldavia around the clock. The communications men are acting precisely and in a coordinated manner. It is not for nothing that during the exercises many have earned the thanks of the command. [passage omitted]

Troop Exercise Underway in Belorussia

LD2109134088 Moscow TASS in English 1327 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—The troop exercise of the Belorussian Military District is going on on the territory of Belorussia. The attacking forces, upon having overcome the resistance of the "enemy," reached an intermediate defence line. Stubborn "fighting" took place here today. The personnel of the participating units displayed increased field and air combat training standards, mobility, and efficient use of weapons and combat hardware.

The actions of the troops were watched by foreign representatives from 26 countries which had participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. They had been invited to attend the exercise in accordance with the document of the Stockholm conference.

Yazov on Impact of New Thinking on Armed Forces

LD2109090088 Moscow TASS in English 0841 GMT 21 Sep 88

[Text] Moscow September 21 TASS—Soviet Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov has stressed defense sufficiency as an underlying principle of the Soviet military doctrine, which presupposes steadily scaling down military confrontation levels on the basis of reciprocity, equality and equal security.

Writing in a special issue of NOVOSTI press agency's newsletter on how new political thinking has impacted the Soviet Armed Forces, Yazov, who holds the rank of a general of the Army, added:

"These levels are not determined by us. We are prepared for reducing them drastically, for constructive talks on any issues of cutting armed forces and armaments, for a joint search for solutions and for discussing essential verification measures."

He continued: "Stress first of all on quality meets the specific conditions of the current juncture in world development. It has been dictated, first, by the need to make positive trends in this development irreversible, second, by the possibilities of countering the positions-of-strength policy that are inherent in new political thinking and related approaches to resolving the problems of strengthening international security and peace and, third, by the fact that emphasis on quantity is becoming not only ever costlier but also ever less effective in both military-political terms and military terms proper."

Stress on quality in defense, according to Yazov, means not building up the battle power of the Armed Forces but maintaining this power at a level excluding military superiority over the Soviet Union and guaranteeing reliable protection for the peaceful work and life of the Soviet people.

Openness Urged on Military Budget, Statistics

PM1909114188 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 17 Sep 88 p 5

[Letter from Candidate of Economic Sciences Yevgeniy Gontmakher under rubric "Reader Proposes, Protests, Polemicizes": "'Military Secrets'"]

[Text] Moscow—The acuteness of the social problems which have accumulated in the country is known to all. We must construct far more apartments, schools, hospitals, and movie theaters. But there are no capital investments, construction capacities, or materials for this—that is the invariable answer to the economic scientists' proposals in the central planning organs. As a result, despite the increasingly aggravated housing crisis, in the 11th 5-Year Plan (1981-1985) just 7 percent more housing was erected than in 1966-1970; the construction of general education schools, the need for which is still very great, showed a steady tendency to decline; and there was a decrease in the number of hospital beds commissioned, although the situation with regard to the material base of health care could not be worse.

Under the conditions of socialism this situation is not normal. Considerable efforts have been made recently to rectify it; nevertheless additional resources for these purposes are extracted only with great difficulty. The economy has so far failed to acquire a social orientation in its development, and the principle of allocating only leftover funds to the sphere of the improvement of the people's welfare still operates. Which sectors are the first to have their needs met when the social pie is cut?

Industry, agriculture, transport? Yes, but that is only half the truth. We would have the whole truth if this traditional list were supplemented by our economy's military-industrial sector.

Imagine the situation in which those engaged in planning the country's social development find themselves: Our military expenditure for them is not only a "top" secret but also an area closed to criticism. How much to spend on defense is decided by a very narrow circle of people without discussion by the USSR Supreme Soviet and its commissions. Can the economic scientists, who are kept in total ignorance, have a say here?

The old doctrine, which viewed the USSR as a fortress under siege, presupposes not simply national economic priority for hypertrophied defense needs but also no hitches in satisfying them. This is directly reflected in the formation of the sum of the funds to be channeled into improving the living standard. Is this doctrine's vitality not an important reason for the present neglect of the country's social sphere?

I think that this could largely be avoided by submitting for discussion by the Supreme Soviet organs the proposed size of the military budget with the relevant justifications, putting these figures into broad scientific and public circulation. From this viewpoint, we can only welcome E.A. Shevardnadze's recent statement on the need to "introduce legislative procedure in accordance with which all departments engaged in military and military-industrial activity will be under the control of the supreme nationwide elected organs. This applies to questions of the use of military force beyond the country's national borders, defense building plans, and the open nature of military budgets in the main areas where they are linked to the problem of national security."

But everything said above applies only to the material and financial funds distributed between our economy's military and civilian sectors. What about manpower resources? It is well known that a certain proportion of the country's adult male population is in the ranks of the armed forces. But exactly what proportion? Strict secrecy in this matter makes it impossible to compile an authentic balance of manpower resources, which considerably reduces the quality of scientific research and preplanning developments affecting people's employment.

Is such secrecy expedient? In the information hall of the USSR Lenin State Library there is free access to an American statistical yearbook which indicates the numerical strength of all countries of the world, of any size. It includes figures for our army.... Of course, the American information may be inaccurate and biased, but this makes it all the more important to make figures on the size of the Soviet Armed Forces open.

In recent years much has been said about how economic science is in debt to actual practice. But to rectify the situation it turns out that the efforts of scientists alone are not enough. The time has come to give them the opportunity to study what are still secret sectors of our national economy.

Retired Lieutenant General S.V. Smirnov Dies

PM2109093788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Sep 88 First Edition p 4

[Obituary of S.V. Smirnov]

[Excerpts] Candidate of Technical Sciences Lieutenant General (Retired) Sergey Vasilyevich Smirnov, meritorious construction worker of the RSFSR, has died after a serious protracted illness. [passage omitted]

S.V. Smirnov was born 23 September 1910 in Moscow Oblast's Istrinskiy Rayon. [passage omitted]

During the Great Patriotic War S.V. Smirnov served in various engineering command positions. In the postwar period he was involved in responsible work. He ended his career as chief of a USSR Defense Ministry Main Directorate. [passage omitted]